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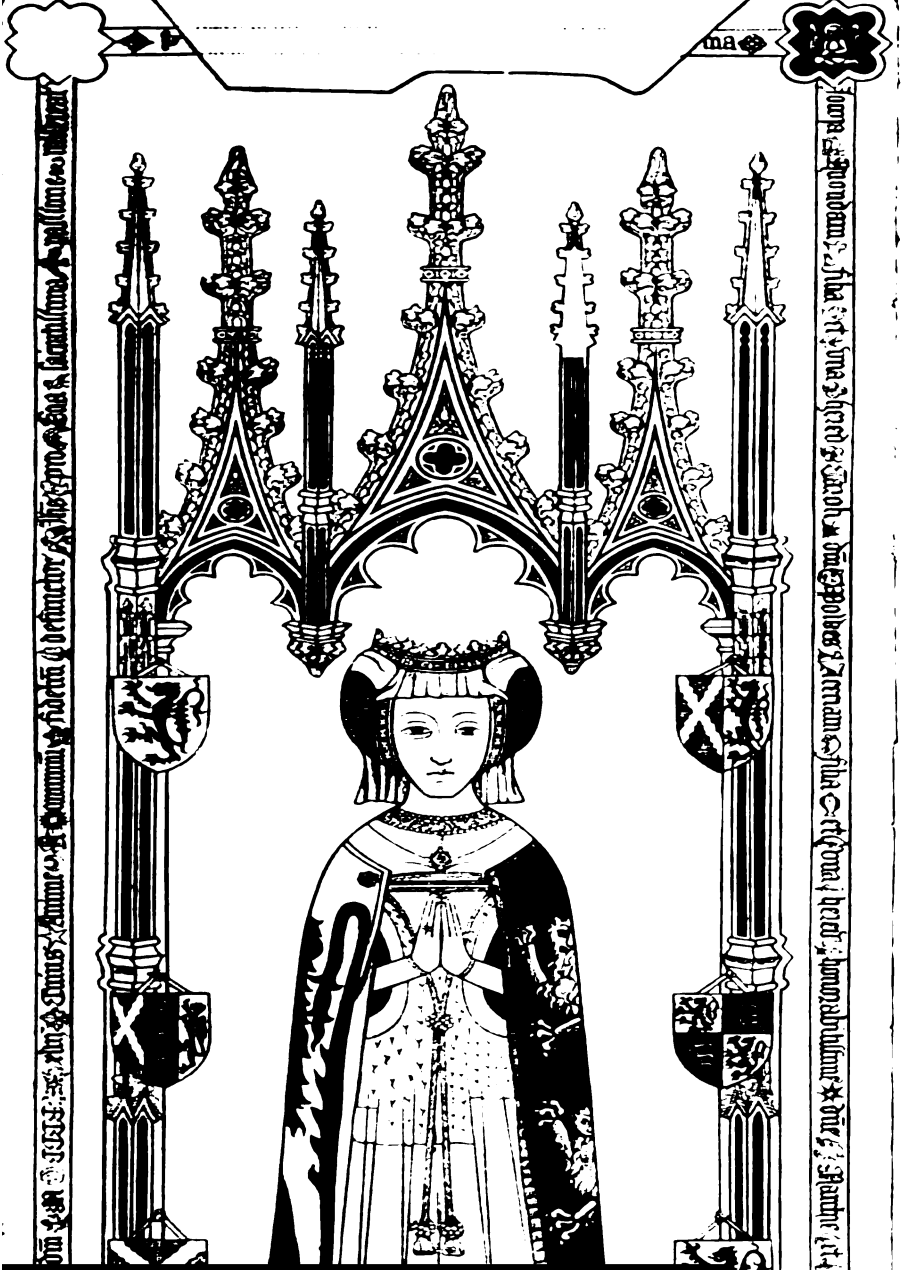

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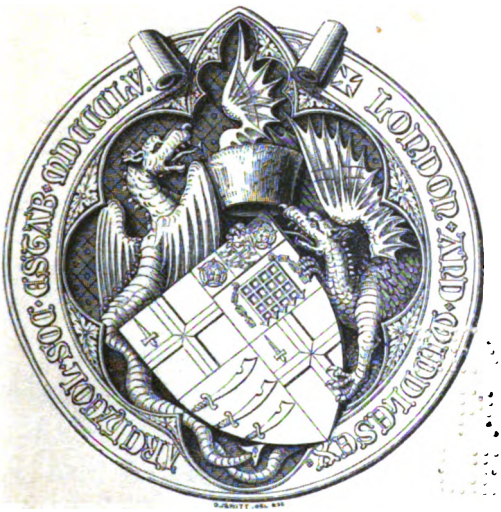
OF THE

LONDON AND MIDDLESEX

Archæological Society.

VOLUME I.



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PREFACE.

In presenting to the Members of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society the First Volume of its Transactions, the Council have to express their deep regret at the long and wearisome delay which has attended its publication—a delay, however, which has arisen from circumstances entirely beyond their powers of control. They trust, nevertheless, that it will be found worthy alike of the Authors and of the Members at large, and that the length of time which has elapsed since the issue of the first portion in the July of 1856 will not be considered unpardonable, when the varied and interesting nature of the contents of the entire volume are duly taken into consideration.

The period which it will be found to embrace is from the 30th of July, 1855, on which the Provisional Committee held its first meeting, to the Eighteenth General Meeting of the Society, which took place at Harrow on the 6th of October, 1859.

The Council deem it unnecessary to enter in this place into any details connected with the formation of the Society, or the peculiar scene and objects of its study. The former will be found minutely recorded in the Prolegomena at page 1, and the latter in the Inau-

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gural Address at page 23, furnish[ed] by one of its Members and read at its Second Gen[eral] Meeting.

Most of the departments of Archæological Science, so far as the Metropolis and its neighbourhood can supply materials, will be found represented in the following pages. For example: There are,—*Primæval History*, in a paper on London and Middlesex during that period; *Roman Antiquities*, in a contribution on a supposed amphitheatre on the descent towards the former site of the Fleet prison, and numerous notices of tessellated pavements, pottery, coins, &c. at Suffolk Lane and its neighbourhood, Newgate Street, Bow, &c.; *Manuscripts*, in papers on the Middlesex of the Domesday Survey, on the Corporation Records, the "Liber Albus," the grant of the Manor of Holborn in the time of Richard II., the Inquisitions post mortem of Richard III. and Henry VII., and the Registers of Harrow; *Architecture*, as well Ecclesiastical, in the paper on the Church of St. Mary Aldermary; as Civil, in the Memoir of the Bell Tower in the Tower of London; and Domestic, in the paper on Crosby Place, and the first number of Walks in the City, containing a profusely-illustrated Itinerary of the Ward of Bishopsgate; *Monumental Brasses*, in the account of those to Alianore Duchess of Gloucester, Joice Lady Tiptoft, John de Valence, and the fine series at Harrow; and *Biography*, in the memoir of Sir Richard Whittington, the sketches of the Lieutenants of the Tower, and the eminent persons who lie buried in the Church of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate. Together with these will be found notices of a more brief character, but referrible to one or other of these

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departments, on the Tower, Westminster Abbey and Chapter House, the Churches of St. Bartholomew the Great, St. Giles's Cripplegate, and St. Mary-le-Bow, Lambe's Chapel, Christ's and St. Bartholomew's Hospitals, Guildhall, London generally in the time of Queen Elizabeth, Marylebone, Harrow, the Frauds of Antiquity Dealers, &c. &c.

The Council entertain the hope that in future volumes more than one of these latter subjects will receive further attention, and be presented in more complete detail.

It must be evident to all who recollect the expensive nature of the General Meetings of the Society, and the meagre funds at its command, that the publication of a volume so large and highly illustrated as the present was altogether beyond its power, unless aided by additional and liberal help. The Council have the pleasing duty, therefore, in conclusion, of expressing their cordial thanks to the following gentlemen for donations towards the cost both of printing and of illustrations.

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OF THE

London and Middlesex Archæological Society.

ESTABLISHED IN 1855.

LONDON:

DECEMBER, 1857.

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THIS SOCIETY has been formed with the following OBJECTS:—

To collect, record, and publish the best information on the Ancient Arts and Monuments of the Cities of London and Westminster, and of the County of Middlesex, including Primeval Antiquities; Architecture—Ecclesiastical, Civil and Military; Sculpture; Works of Art in Metal and Wood; Paintings on Walls, Wood, or Glass; Heraldry and Genealogy; Costume; Numismatics; Ecclesiastical History and Endowments, and Charitable Foundations; Records; Civil History and Antiquities, comprising Manors, Manorial Rights, Privileges, and Customs, and all other matters usually comprised under the head of Archæology.

To procure careful observation and preservation of Antiquities discovered in the progress of works, such as Excavations for Railways, Foundations of Buildings, &c.

To make, and to encourage individuals and public bodies in making researches and excavations, and to afford to them suggestions and co-operation.

To oppose and prevent, as far as may be practicable, any injuries with which monuments and Ancient Remains of every description may, from time to time, be threatened, and to collect accurate drawings, plans, and descriptions thereof.

To found a Museum and Library for the reception, by way of gift, loan, or purchase, of works and objects of Archæological Interest connected with London and Middlesex.

Yearly Subscription, to be paid in advance, 10s.

It will be observed, that the operations of this Society are exclusively devoted to the Archæology of the Metropolis, and of the Metropolitan County.

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RULES.

I.—The Title of this Society shall be—

"THE LONDON AND MIDDLESEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY."

II.—The objects of this Society shall be—

1.—To collect and publish the best information on the Ancient Arts and Monuments of the Cities of London and Westminster, and of the County of Middlesex; including Primeval Antiquities; Architecture, Civil, Ecclesiastical, and Military; Sculpture; Works of Art in Metal and Wood; Paintings on Walls, Wood, or Glass; Civil History and Antiquities, comprising Manors, Manorial Rights, Privileges and Customs; Heraldry and Genealogy; Costume; Numismatics; Ecclesiastical History and Endowments, and Charitable Foundations; Records, and all other matters usually comprised under the head of Archæology.

2.—To procure careful observation and preservation of antiquities discovered in the progress of works, such as Excavations for Railways, Foundations for Buildings, &c.

3.—To make, and to encourage individuals and public bodies in making, researches and excavations, and to afford them suggestions and co-operation.

4.—To oppose and prevent, as far as may be practicable, any injuries with which Monuments and Ancient Remains of every description may, from time to time, be threatened; and to collect accurate drawings, plans, and descriptions thereof.

5.—To found a Museum and Library for the reception, by way of gift, loan, or purchase, of works and objects of Archæological interest.

6.—To arrange periodical meetings for the reading of papers, and the delivery of lectures, on subjects connected with the purposes of the Society.

III.—The constitution and government of the Society shall be as follows:—

1.—The Society shall consist of Members and Honorary Members.

2.—Each Member shall pay an Annual Subscription of not less than Ten Shillings, to be due on the 1st of January in each Year, in advance, or £5 in lieu thereof, as a Composition for Life.

3.—The affairs of the Society shall be conducted by a Council of Management, to be elected by the Society at their Annual General Meeting, and to consist of Patrons, a President, Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, Trustees, an Honorary Secretary, and Twenty Members,

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eight of whom shall go out annually, by rotation, but be eligible for re-election. Five Members of this Council shall form a quorum.

4.—All payments to be made to the Treasurer of the Society, or to his account, at such Banking-house in the Metropolis as the Council may direct, and no cheque shall be drawn except by order of the Council, and every cheque shall be signed by two Members thereof, and the Honorary Secretary.

5.—The property of the Society shall be vested in the Trustees.

6.—The Subscriptions of Members shall entitle them to admission to all General Meetings, and to the use of the Library and Museum, subject to such regulations as the Council may make, and also to one copy of all publications issued by direction of the Council during their Membership.

7.—No Member whose Subscription is in arrear shall be entitled to vote at any Meeting of the Society, or to receive any of the Society's Publications, or to exercise any privilege of Membership; and if any Member's subscription be twelve months in arrear, the Council may declare him to have ceased to be a Member, and his Membership shall thenceforth cease accordingly.

8.—Every person desirous of being admitted a Member, must be proposed agreeably to the form annexed to these Rules,* and this form must be subscribed by him, and by a Member of the Society, and addressed to the Honorary Secretary, to be submitted to the Council, who will ballot for his election, one black ball in five to exclude.

9.—Ladies desirous of becoming Members will be expected to conform to the foregoing Rule, so far as relates to their nomination, but will be admitted without ballot.

10.—Persons eminent for their literary works or scientific acquirements shall be eligible to be associated with the Society as Honorary Members, and to be elected by the Council.

11.—The Lord Lieutenant of the County, the Lord Bishop of the Diocese, the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, the High Steward of Westminster, Members of the House of Peers residing in, or who are Landed Proprietors in the County; also all Members of the House of Commons representing the County, or the Metropolitan Cities and Boroughs; and such other persons as the Councils may determine, shall be invited to become Vice-Presidents, if Members of the Society.

12.—An Annual General Meeting shall be held in the month of June, at such time and place as the Council shall appoint, to receive and consider the Report of the Council on the proceedings and state of the Society, and to elect the Officers for the ensuing twelve months.

13.—There shall be also such other General Meetings in each year

* Copies of the form may be had from the Secretaries.

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as the Council may direct, for the reading of papers and other business: these Meetings to be held at times and places appointed by the Council.

14.—The Council may at any time call a Special General Meeting, and they shall at all times be bound to do so on the written requisition of Ten Members, specifying the nature of the business to be transacted. Notice of the time and place of such Meeting shall be sent to the Members at least fourteen days previously, mentioning the subject to be brought forward, and no other subject shall be discussed at such Meeting.

15.—The Council shall meet for the transaction of business connected with the management of the Society on the first Tuesday in each Month.

16.—At every Meeting of the Society, or of the Council, the resolutions of the majority shall be binding, though all persons entitled to vote be not present; and at such Meetings the Chairman shall have an independent as well as a casting vote.

17.—The whole effects and property of the Society shall be under the control and management of the Council, who shall be at liberty to purchase books, casts, or other articles, or to exchange or dispose of duplicates thereof.

18.—The Council shall have the power of publishing such papers and engravings as may be deemed worthy of being printed, together with a Report of the proceedings of the Society.

19.—One half of the composition of each Life Member, and so much of the surplus of the income as the Council may direct (after providing for the current expences) shall be invested in Government Securities to such extent as the Council may deem most expedient; the interest only to be available for the current disbursements, and no portion shall be withdrawn without the sanction of a General Meeting.

20.—The Council shall be empowered to appoint Local Secretaries in such places in the County as may appear desirable.

21.—Honorary Members and Local Secretaries shall have all the privileges of Members, except that of voting.

22.—Two Members shall be annually appointed to audit the accounts of the Society, and to Report thereon at the next General Annual Meeting.

23.—No polemical or political discussions shall be permitted at Meetings of the Society, nor topics of a similar nature admitted in the Society's publications.

24.—No change shall be made in the Rules of the Society except at a Special General Meeting.

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THE SURREY ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.
THE ECCLESIOLOGICAL SOCIETY.
THE SUFFOLK INSTITUTE OF ARCHÆOLOGY.
THE KILKENNY ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY,
THE CHRONOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF LONDON.
THE SOMERSETSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.
THE LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE HISTORIC SOCIETY.

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By order of the Council,
HENRY WILLIAM SASS,
Hon. Secretary.

32, FLEET STREET, E. C.

Donations of Books, Drawings, Prints, and Antiquities, towards the Library and Museum of the Society, will be thankfully received and acknowledged.

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OF THE

London and Middlesex Archæological Society.

ESTABLISHED IN 1855.

LONDON:

May, 1860.

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THIS SOCIETY has been formed with the following OBJECTS:—

To collect, record, and publish the best information on the Ancient Arts and Monuments of the Cities of London and Westminster, and of the County of Middlesex, including Primeval Antiquities; Architecture—Ecclesiastical, Civil, and Military; Sculpture; Works of Art in Metal and Wood; Paintings on Walls, Wood, or Glass; Heraldry and Genealogy; Costume; Numismatics; Ecclesiastical History and Endowments, and Charitable Foundations; Records; Civil History and Antiquities, comprising Manors, Manorial Rights, Privileges, and Customs, and all other matters usually comprised under the head of Archæology.

To procure careful observation and preservation of Antiquities discovered in the progress of works, such as Excavations for Railways, Foundations of Buildings, &c.

To make, and to encourage individuals and public bodies in making, researches and excavations, and to afford to them suggestions and co-operation.

To oppose and prevent, as far as may be practicable, any injuries with which Monuments and Ancient Remains of every description may, from time to time, be threatened, and to collect accurate drawings, plans, and descriptions thereof.

To found a Museum and Library for the reception, by way of gift, loan, or purchase, of works and objects of Archæological Interest connected with London and Middlesex.

Yearly Subscription, to be paid in advance, 10s.

It will be observed, that the operations of this Society are exclusively devoted to the Archæology of the Metropolis, and of the Metropolitan County.

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Sachs, Mr. Thomas, 3, *St. George's-place, Hyde-park*, S.W.
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Smith, Charles Roach, Esq., F.S.A., *Strood, Kent.*
Smith, G. F., Esq., 16, *Cannon-street*, W.
Smith, Newman, Esq., 7, *Great Cumberland-place, Hyde-park*, W.
Smither, James George, Esq., *Falcon-court, Fleet-street*, E.C.
Solly, Edward, Esq., *Holme House, Isleworth*, W.
Sotheby, S. Leigh, Esq., F.S.A., *Woodlands, Norwood*, S.
Squire, Frederick, Esq., 1, *Pall Mall East*, S.W.
Stock, Henry, Esq., *East Cottage, Bedford-place, Kensington*, W.
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Webster, Mrs., 80, *Beresford-street, Walworth*, S.
Weatherley, Rev. C. T., *Hillingdon, Middlesex*, W.
Whichcord, John, Esq., F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A., 29, *Pall Mall*, S.W., *and* 16, *Wallbrook*, E.C.
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White, Mrs., 67, *Carlton-road-villas*, N.W.
White, Alfred, Esq., F.L.S., *West Drayton.*
White, George Walpole, Esq., *Holybourne, Alton, Hants.*
White, Dr., *College of Preceptors, Arnold House, Hammersmith*, W.
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*Wilson, Samuel, Esq., Colonel Royal London Militia and Alderman, V.P., *Beckenham, Kent, and Head Quarters, Finsbury*, E.C.
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Wingrove, Drummond B., Esq., 30, *Wood-street, Cheapside*, E.C.
Winkley, William, Jun., Esq., *Harrow.*
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Woodthorpe, Fred., Esq., *Town Clerk's Office, Guildhall*, E.C.
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Young, Thomas, Esq., *The Grove, Camberwell*, S.

Honorary Members.

Bell, Dr. 31, *Burton-street, Burton-cresent*, W.C.
Bloxam, Matthew Holbeche, Esq., *Rugby.*
Burtt, Joseph, Esq., *Record Office, Chancery-lane*, E.C.
Markland, James Heywood, Esq., LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A., *Bath.*

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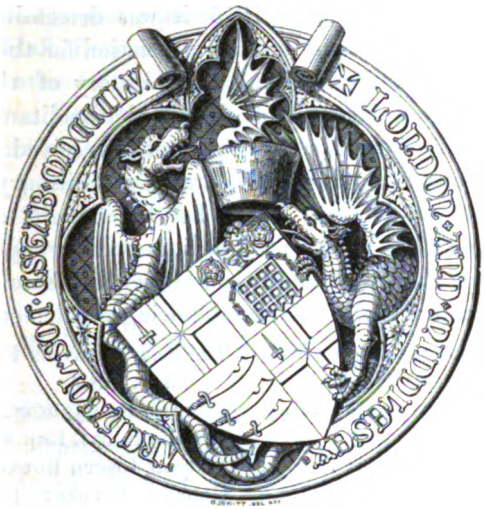

the

London and Middlesex Archæological Society.

Vol. I. JULY, 1856. Part 1.

PROLEGOMENA.

The Council of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society consider it desirable, before proceeding to the exhibition of more strictly antiquarian details, to place on record a brief narrative of the Society's origin and earliest operations. This cannot but be interesting hereafter, if the Institution attain to that position of generally-recognised importance and prosperity which they have at present good reason to anticipate. The consecutive steps of its progress they will, therefore, in the first place succinctly recount; whilst for the motives which led to its formation, its aim and scope, its objects and its hopes, they request attention to the Introductory Address of one of their body, which

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will be found at a subsequent page, and through the medium of which they desire to solicit the sympathies of the archæological public at large.

In the spring of the year 1855 it was determined that an attempt should be made to form an association for the purpose of investigating the antiquities and early history of the Cities of London and Westminster, and of the Metropolitan County of Middlesex. The idea was very favourably received. Many influential persons, including the Marquis of Salisbury, the Lord Lieutenant of Middlesex, Lord Londesborough, and others, expressed themselves most willing to join and to support the proposed Society. A Provisional Committee was therefore formed, which eventually consisted of the following gentlemen:—

The Rev. Thomas Hugo, M.A. F.S.A. &c.—Chairman.
The Rev. Charles Boutell, M.A.
Joshua W. Butterworth, Esq. F.S.A.
The Rev. Henry Christmas, M.A. F.R.S. F.S.A. Professor of Archæology to the Royal Society of Literature.
James Crosby, Esq. F.S.A.
The Rev. Octavius Freire Owen, M.A. F.S.A.
Edward Richardson, Esq.
George Roots, Esq. F.S.A.
Martin Joseph Routh, Esq. M.A.
George Gilbert Scott, Esq. F.R.I.B.A.
C. Roach Smith, Esq. F.S.A.
William Tayler, Esq. F.S.S.
Geo. Bish Webb, Esq. F.R.I.B.A. —Honorary Secretary.

This Committee held its first Meeting at No. 6, Southampton Street, Covent Garden, on Monday, July 30th, when it was resolved to form the Society; and subsequently other Meetings, on Wednesday, Aug. 15th, when it was decided to invite the Marquis of Salisbury to accept the office of Patron, and Lord Londesborough that of President; on Monday, Aug. 27th, when a letter was read from Lord Londesborough to the Rev. Thomas Hugo, accepting the office of President; on Wednesday, Oct. 24th, when a communication was announced from Mr. A. B. Hope to the Rev. C. Boutell, to the effect that the Marquis of Salisbury had consented to become the Patron; on Tuesday, Nov. 13th, when it was determined to call a General Public Meeting for Dec. 14th, at which the proposed Society should be formally and regularly established, and Lord Londesborough invited to take the Chair; and on Monday,

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Dec. 10th, when the order of proceedings at such Meeting was discussed and arranged.

Notwithstanding a condition of the weather which was very unfavourable for such a purpose, the Inaugural Meeting was held at Crosby Hall, Bishopsgate Street Within, on Dec. 14th, 1855. It was well attended, and the greatest interest was evinced in the proceedings. Unfortunately, Lord Londesborough was prevented by severe illness, which at one time threatened dangerous results, from being present; but in his Lordship's absence the Chair was occupied by the Rev. Thomas Hugo, M.A. F.S.A., who, as before stated, had previously acted as Chairman of the Provisional Committee. The proceedings of this Meeting, which now follow, are taken from a very accurate short-hand Report furnished to the Society by Mr. T. E. Wilmot Knight.

PROCEEDINGS at the INAUGURAL MEETING of the LONDON and MIDDLESEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY, held at CROSBY HALL, in the City of London, on Friday, Dec. 14th, 1855,

The Rev. THOMAS HUGO, M.A. F.S.A. in the Chair.

The business of the Meeting was opened by the Chairman, who said:—

"I am called upon, Ladies and Gentlemen, very unexpectedly to fill this chair, in consequence of the illness of Lord Londesborough, which has unhappily rendered it impossible for his Lordship to be with us on this occasion. I have this morning received from him a letter, in which he states that a severe attack of bronchitis necessarily detains him at his home in Yorkshire. Those of us who have the honour of Lord Londesborough's acquaintance are well aware of the deep anxiety which he feels for the success of our present attempt, and will appreciate the 'bitter regret' which, he assures me, his involuntary absence causes him to undergo. I cannot but be conscious that I shall represent his Lordship very unworthily: still, as you have been pleased to call me to occupy his place, I will endeavour to discharge the duties of your Chairman to the best of my ability. With your per-

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mission, then, and reserving any general remarks for the conclusion of our sitting, I will now call on my friend Mr. Crosby to move the first Resolution."

Mr. CROSBY.—" The necessity for the existence of institutions such as we propose this day to form, and the advantages which have resulted from those archæological societies which have now for some time been in existence, must, I think, be obvious to us all. I believe that nearly every county in England has its own archæological society; and, this being the case, I think it is a matter of some discredit, as well as of surprise, that in London and Middlesex there should hitherto have been no institution specially devoted to that wide and fertile field for archæological research. The necessity for such an institution is too evident to require any demonstrative arguments, I therefore shall proceed at once to move,—' That a Society, to be called the London and Middlesex Archæological Society, be now established ; and that such Society is hereby established.' "

Mr. MOGFORD, F.S.A. briefly, but in emphatic terms, seconded the Resolution, which was unanimously adopted.

Having been called on by the Chairman to move the second Resolution,—

Mr. DEPUTY LOTT, F.S.A. rose, and said,—" Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, I have very great pleasure in moving this Resolution. The science of archæology has now arrived at that condition which renders it highly desirable that every county in this kingdom should possess its own society, for the purpose of conducting antiquarian research within its own limits, and for investigating and preserving the memory of those treasures of the past which each may claim as peculiarly its own. I believe that all the counties abound in materials for the operations of such societies: it is certain that the county of Middlesex and the city of London—a separate county in itself—abound in all that is interesting to the antiquary, and is at the same time valuable for historical illustration. I rejoice to find that, at length, we are to have an Archæological Sciety *in* and *for* London and Middlesex; and I feel sincere pleasure in moving this Resolution,—' That the following Rules and Regulations for

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the government and administration of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society be adopted.'"

Mr. TAYLER.—"I have great pleasure in seconding the motion which has just been read by Mr. Deputy Lott. In these days, when science and information are so rapidly extending their happy influences over all England, when noblemen and men in high places take a personal interest in such matters—an interest in which we all participate—I am sure that the importance of such an institution as this must be clearly apparent to all. I second this Resolution with the more satisfaction, because I see that these Rules have been very carefully considered. They define, clearly and satisfactorily, both the scene and the scope of the Society's operations; and they provide in an eminently satisfactory manner for those operations being duly carried on and consistently sustained. In these Rules it is clearly laid down that we trench on no other Society: that is an important element in our constitution—one which, while it has doubtless had no slight influence with those noblemen and gentlemen who are prepared to give the Society their support, will no less certainly contribute in a great degree to its ultimate success. Any collision with kindred societies already in existence would have been both injudicious and improper, and must have injured our Society. Our sphere of action is an absolutely independent one: we can do our own work without any collision with other societies, and without in any respect or degree intruding upon their province; and the Rules and Regulations which I now advise you to adopt provide expressly for our independent action, and they will secure us from all such collision as I have specified. It is much to be regretted that, in consequence of the inclemency of the weather, there should be present with us to-day a much smaller number of friends and supporters than had been expected: still I anticipate for this Society a rapid progress; and I feel assured that the record of this Inaugural Meeting of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society will be regarded with the utmost satisfaction, and that it will form the commencement of a series of publications second in interest and value to none which are produced by institutions

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connected with the study of antiquities. I will close these observations with the expression of my conviction that we all hail with gratification the formation of this Society, and with again repeating my own satisfaction with the Rules and Regulations, which I confidently recommend for your adoption."

The proposed Rules and Regulations were then read by Mr. George Bish Webb, at the request of the Chairman, who subsequently said,—

"Gentlemen, these proposed Rules and Regulations having been read, I have now to request from you any suggestions which you may be disposed to offer for their alteration or improvement."

Mr. ELT having then expressed his entire general approbation of the proposed Rules and Regulations, as they had been read, a highly interesting conversation took place upon some matters of detail, and also upon the manner in which the Rules themselves should be grouped. Amongst the gentlemen who took a part in this conversation, were the Chairman, Mr. G. G. Scott, A.R.A., Mr. Deputy Lott, Mr. Arden, Rev. Charles Boutell, Mr. Reynolds, Mr. Dennes, Mr. Ashpitel, Mr. Elt, and Mr. Butterworth; the result was, that a few alterations were introduced, including the addition of three trustees to the list of officers, and a better form of arrangement adopted: after which the Rules and Regulations following were unanimously accepted by the Meeting, as—

THE RULES AND REGULATIONS OF THE LONDON AND MIDDLESEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

I.—The Title of this Society shall be—

"THE LONDON AND MIDDLESEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY."

II.—The Objects of this Society shall be—

1.—To collect and publish the best information on the Ancient Arts and Monuments of the Cities of London and Westminster, and of the County of Middlesex;—including Primeval Antiquities; Architecture, Civil, Ecclesiastical, and Military; Sculpture; Works of Art in Metal and Wood; Paintings on Walls, Wood, or Glass; Civil History and Antiquities, comprising Manors, Manorial Rights, Privileges and

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Customs; Heraldry and Genealogy; Costume; Numismatics; Ecclesiastical History and Endowments, and Charitable Foundations, Records, and all other matters usually comprised under the head of Archæology.

2.—To procure the careful observation and preservation of antiquities discovered in the progress of works, such as Excavations for Railways, Foundations of Buildings, &c.

3.—To make, and to encourage individuals and public bodies in making, researches and excavations, and to afford them suggestions and co-operation.

4.—To oppose and prevent, so far as may be practicable, any injuries with which Monuments and Ancient Remains of every description may, from time to time, be threatened; and to collect accurate drawings, plans, and descriptions thereof.

5.—To found a Museum and Library for the reception, by way of gift, loan, or purchase, of works and objects of Archæological interest.

6.—To arrange periodical Meetings for the reading of papers, and the delivery of lectures, on subjects connected with the purposes of the Society.

III.—The Constitution and Government of the Society shall be as follows:—

1.—The Society shall consist of Members and Honorary Members.

2.—Each Member shall pay an Annual Subscription of not less than Ten Shillings, to be due on the 1st of January in each Year, in advance, or £5 in lieu thereof, as a Composition for Life.

3.—The affairs of the Society shall be conducted by a Council of Management, to be elected by the Society at their Annual General Meeting, and to consist of a Patron, a President, Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, Trustees, an Honorary Secretary, and Twenty Members, eight of whom shall go out annually, by rotation, but be eligible for re-election. Five Members of this Council shall form a quorum.

4.—All payments to be made to the Treasurer of the Society, or to his account, at such Banking-house in the Metropolis as the Council may direct, and no cheque shall be drawn except by order of the Council, and every cheque shall be signed by two Members thereof, and the Honorary Secretary.

5.—The property of the Society shall be vested in the Trustees.

6.—The Subscriptions of Members shall entitle them to admission to all General Meetings, and to the use of the Library and Museum, subject to such regulations as the Council may make, and also to one

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copy of all publications issued by direction of the Council during their Membership.

7.—No Member whose Subscription is in arrear shall be entitled to vote at any Meeting of the Society, or to receive any of the Society's publications, or to exercise any privilege of Membership; and if any Member's subscription be twelve months in arrear, the Council may declare him to have ceased to be a Member, and his Membership shall thenceforth cease accordingly.

8.—Every person desirous of being admitted a Member must be proposed agreeably to the Form annexed to these Rules; and this Form must be subscribed by him, and by a Member of the Society, and addressed to the Honorary Secretary, to be submitted to the Council, who will ballot for his election: one black ball in five to exclude.

9.—Ladies desirous of becoming Members will be expected to conform to the foregoing Rule, so far as relates to their nomination, but will be admitted without ballot.

10.—Persons eminent for their literary works or scientific acquirements shall be eligible to be associated with the Society as Honorary Members, and to be elected by the Council.

11.—The Lord Lieutenant of the County, the Lord Bishop of the Diocese, the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, the High Steward of Westminster, Members of the House of Peers residing in, or who are Landed Proprietors in the County; also all Members of the House of Commons representing the County, or the Metropolitan Cities and Boroughs; and such other persons as the Council may determine, shall be invited to become Vice-Presidents, if Members of the Society.

12.—An Annual General Meeting shall be held in the month of June or July, at such time and place as the Council shall appoint, to receive and consider the Report of the Council on the proceedings and state of the Society, and to elect the Officers for the ensuing twelve months.

13.—There shall be also such other General Meetings in each year as the Council may direct for the reading of papers and other business: these Meetings to be held at times and places to be appointed by the Council.

14.—The Council may at any time call a Special General Meeting, and they shall at all times be bound to do so on the written requisition of Ten Members, specifying the nature of the business to be transacted. Notice of the time and place of such Meeting shall be sent to the Members at least fourteen days previously, mentioning the subject to be brought forward; and no other subject shall be discussed at such Meeting.

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15.—The Council shall meet for the transaction of business connected with the management of the Society on the first Tuesday in each Month.

16.—At every Meeting of the Society, or of the Council, the Resolutions of the majority shall be binding, though all persons entitled to vote be not present; and at such Meetings the Chairman shall have an independent as well as a casting vote.

17.—The whole effects and property of the Society shall be under the control and management of the Council, who shall be at liberty to purchase books, casts, or other articles, or to exchange or dispose of duplicates thereof.

18.—The Council shall have the power of publishing such papers and engravings as may be deemed worthy of being printed, together with a Report of the Proceedings of the Society.

19.—One-half of the composition of each Life Member, and so much of the surplus of the income as the Council may direct (after providing for the current expenses), shall be invested in Government Securities to such extent as the Council may deem most expedient: the interest only to be available for the current disbursements, and no portion shall be withdrawn without the sanction of a General Meeting.

20.—The Council shall be empowered to appoint Local Secretaries at such places in the county as may appear desirable.

21.—Honorary Members and Local Secretaries shall have all the privileges of Members, except that of voting.

22.—Two Members shall be annually appointed to audit the accounts of the Society, and to Report thereon at the next General Annual Meeting.

23.—No polemical or political discussions shall be permitted at Meetings of the Society, nor topics of a similar nature admitted into the Society's publications.

24.—No change shall be made in the Rules of the Society, except at a Special General Meeting.

Inquiries were then made by several gentlemen, whether it was contemplated to form a Library in connection with the Society, and the Chairman stated that it was intended to form both a Library and a Museum. It was next suggested that Books should be kept, in which there might be registered all antiquarian discoveries that might be made in the city of London, or in the county of Middlesex, as they occur, by the members of

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the Society. Every statement made in these books should be dated, and be attested by the signature of the member by whom it was made; and the books to be always open for inspection.

The Rev. CHARLES BOUTELL said:—"Sir, I wish to make an observation having reference to the suggestion which has been last submitted to us. I believe the Society, when it is in working order, will find that the new Council will carry out fully the intentions of the Provisional Committee, and that the Society will thus at once take up its position as a working institution, which will supply a void long felt, and supply it in a satisfactory manner. If this be the case, the excellent suggestion which has just been made, together with many others bearing upon points of practical detail, will be found not to contain matter for insertion in our Rules, but to appertain to the Council for their decision and adoption. I am quite sure that those members of the Provisional Committee who may be submitted to this Meeting for election as members of the Council will be found to be determined to conduct the operations of our Society with the utmost energy and determination. Such books for the registration of discoveries as have been suggested to us will, accordingly, I doubt not, be provided, together with many other arrangements of equal value and importance."

The CHAIRMAN.—"The next Resolution will be moved by Mr. Sydney Smirke."

Mr. SMIRKE, A.R.A. and F.S.A., said:—"I had no intention of addressing this meeting, Mr. Chairman, having come hither simply to be a listener. I shall, however, have great pleasure in doing anything, in any matter however trifling, towards promoting the interests of this new institution. It certainly does seem a strange anomaly, whilst so many counties of comparatively less importance than the county of Middlesex, should each possess its own Archæological Society (and in fact almost every other county is more or less represented by such a society), that the county in which is situated the greatest city in the world—and that too a city as well of medieval as of present importance—should be without any institution of this kind. There are,

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indeed, three institutions in London which devote their attention to archæological pursuits; but they possess no local character whatever. They are like the staff of an army; they are not attached to any regiment, but they exercise a power and an influence over the entire system of operations. I apprehend that our object will be entirely and exclusively local; and while the three great institutions of London will sweep the horizon with the telescope, we shall take up the microscope for the purpose of minutely examining objects immediately before us. No person here present needs to be reminded how much there is under our feet to excite our interest, and to deserve a microscopic view. I consider this Society to possess many and great advantages: one of these has been just alluded to, that of forming a register of occurrences, unimportant perhaps in themselves, but yet of great importance in the aggregate. Perhaps I may be permitted to mention one circumstance, in illustration of what I have just said. I remember, when I was a school-boy, meeting with what I felt satisfied at that time was an old Roman brick-field; and I have been confirmed in that opinion. It was situated at the end of the Regent's Park, and was brought to light by the workmen when that park was formed. At that time I hesitated to make a communication to the Society of Antiquaries, the only antiquarian society then in existence, and therefore the matter dropped. But had a Middlesex Archæological Society then been in existence, to it that discovery would surely have been made known; and no less surely would it have thus have been thoroughly explored, and some very curious results would in all probability have ensued. Such things are of frequent occurrence. You cannot remove any part of the surface of the London of our times without meeting with relics of times gone by: and I consider such an institution as that which has been on this occasion established to be admirably adapted for bringing together all such remains of earlier periods, and for preserving them as illustrations of our past history. What I have just mentioned shews, I think, the expediency of an institution of this kind; and I believe it requires no persuasion to satisfy all here present of that expediency. The Resolution in connection with our newly-formed

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Society, which has been put into my hands, is one which can require no comment in order to justify its being submitted to you: I will, therefore, at once move that the Marquis of Salisbury, K.G., be the Patron, and that the Lord Londesborough be the President of the Society."

Mr. DEPUTY LOTT.—"I feel much satisfaction in seconding this Resolution. In every respect the Lord Lieutenant is the person best fitted to occupy the position of Patron of our Society: no less suited for the office of our President is Lord Londesborough, a nobleman long associated with archæological pursuits and studies, and who (as Lord Albert Conyngham) was the first President of the British Archæological Association. It is, indeed, most true, that the Society of Antiquaries of London has never been an active or a popular institution: but the Association which may be considered to have been derived from it at once showed itself to be an active worker, and it at the same time assumed a popular character. The search for antiquities thus was carried on throughout the empire: and eventually, with a view to render that search at once more systematic and more comprehensive, Archæological Societies were established in the several counties, each of which should devote itself to the antiquities of its own county. I have to repeat my conviction that we cannot choose as our President any person better qualified for that office than Lord Londesborough. His Lordship was the first to take the lead in the great movement in Archæology which has been made within the last few years: he presided at the first Archæological Congress held at Canterbury, when he placed at our disposal ground for excavations which produced highly-interesting remains of our Saxon ancestors. Should his health permit, I am convinced that Lord Londesborough will prove a very active member of this new Society, and also will very ably preside over it."

This Resolution was passed unanimously, with decided expressions of approbation.

Having been called upon by the Chairman,

The Rev. CHARLES BOUTELL said,—"I rise, Sir, to submit to the Meeting a Resolution which has been placed in my hands,

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and which is to the following effect: that 'The Right Hon. the Lord Robert Grosvenor, M.P., the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, Sir Thomas Maryon Wilson, Bart., Alderman Sir George Carroll, Knight, Alderman Sir Henry Muggeridge, Knight, A. J. B. Beresford Hope, Esq. F.S.A., Benjamin Bond Cabbell, Esq. M.P. F.R.S. F.S A., Thomas Somers Cocks, jun. Esq. M.P., and Mr. Alderman Wilson be appointed Vice-Presidents of this Society, and that Thomas Somers Cocks, jun. Esq. be the Treasurer, and that Joseph Arden, Esq. the Rev. Thomas Hugo, and Thomas Lott, Esq. be the Trustees.' In submitting the names of these Gentlemen as Vice-Presidents, it will be understood that other names may hereafter be added to them, at the pleasure of the Society. The gentlemen whom I have had the honour to name, whether for the office of Vice-President, for that of Treasurer, or of Trustee, can require no recommendation: they recommend themselves to us, and we may feel assured that our Society will derive important advantages from their occupying such positions in it.

"It has been my good fortune to take a somewhat active part in the proceedings of the Provisional Committee; and I am aware that there has existed in certain quarters a feeling towards our proceedings which I am constrained to describe as amounting almost to suspicion and jealousy. It has been supposed that the founders of this Society have been aiming at establishing in London a new Archæological Society, as a rival to those already in existence which have their head-quarters in the metropolis. Such has not been our object: I may rather say we have been actuated by motives which lead to an object the very contrary to this. It ought to be most distinctly understood by ourselves, as members of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society. and by all who may honour us with their sympathy and their presence, that not only does our Society disclaim any such rivalry, but that our objects and intentions lead us in exactly the opposite direction. As has been already said, we simply propose to fill a void: we desire to work in a friendly spirit of co-operation with other Societies, yet without interfering with the operations of any Society already in existence, or which may hereafter arise for the investigation and study of Archæology in general.

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Our purpose is to investigate the history and antiquities of Middlesex and of London, and only the history and antiquities of Middlesex and of London: accordingly, we are as independent of the Society of Antiquaries, of the Archæological Institute, and of the Archæological Association, as we are of the Archæological Society of St. Alban's, or of any other Archæological Society in the kingdom: at the same time we hope to establish friendly relations with every county archæological society; and we recognize the higher positions of the three institutions whose field of operations, instead of being restricted within the limits of a single county, is co-extensive with the extent of the British empire, or with the entire range of general archæology. It certainly is somewhat remarkable, as has been well said, that a society having objects such as ours should not long ago have been formed: indeed, much has, without doubt, been already lost, because of the non-existence of any such society; many valuable and important antiquities have been discovered and have passed away, because it was not known to whom their existence should be communicated and their preservation entrusted. From the want of such a society, many most valuable records are absolutely lost to antiquaries and to the public at large. We hope to render such losses scarcely possible for the future: we hope, accordingly, both that there will exist no misapprehension relative to our sphere and plan of action, and that in our legitimate sphere and plan of action we shall be very strongly supported. We hope that the London and Middlesex Archæological Society will be known by all, and will be supported by all, as an institution desirous to be what it name implies, and also capable of realizing what under that name it professes. I can with confidence declare that it has been the desire and the determination of my colleagues on the Provisional Committee, in no respect to intrude upon the province of archæological institutions which, in their researches, are so far from being restricted to the metropolis and the metropolitan county, that they are as much at home at Newcastle, or at Edinburgh, or at Dublin, or anywhere else, as they are in London: whereas we, as an archæological society, are at home only in London and Middlesex; and we desire to do our own work on our own ground. To adopt a form of expression which has re-

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cently acquired a peculiar significance, we desire, so far as it may be practicable, to be the right society in the right place, and in the right place doing the right thing."

Mr. MOGFORD, F.S.A.—"I beg to express my entire concurrence with what has been said by Mr. Boutell, and to repeat the assertion that our new Society has no idea of trenching upon any Archæological Societies already existing in London. A glance at the list of the present members will shew that nearly one-half of them are Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries—a proof on their part that they consider such an institution as the present to be necessary, and a guarantee that they have confidence in the independence of its course of action. In support of my own conviction of the necessity for such an institution, I might adduce many circumstances of which I have had a personal knowledge during my long residence in London: I must however be content to mention that I perfectly recollect that four statues were in the niches in the western towers of Westminster Hall; and when that noble building was repaired some years since, I dare say that these statues were conveyed away in order to be broken up into hearth-stones. I remember also seeing boys climb up to the windows of Henry the Seventh's Chapel, and pick out pieces of stained glass, which they sold for a penny a piece in the streets: also, when I was making a drawing of the building in the old Exchequer facing the Thames (now in New Palace Yard), the auctioneer said to me,—'Why need you take the trouble to draw that old rubbish? I will undertake to buy it all in for you for 10*l*.' Fortunately a noble Lord, who knew the value of such 'old rubbish,' preserved the whole from destruction; and these beautiful remains are still in his possession. Then, within the last few years, the fine crypt of Gerard's Hall in the City has been taken to the Crystal Palace, where all the stones have been thrown together in confusion, it having been found impossible to build them up again, in consequence of their not having been marked. Had our Society been in existence, these, and such like things could scarcely have taken place. With these observations, I have great pleasure in seconding the Resolution."

The Resolution was passed unanimously.

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The CHAIRMAN.—"Mr. Ashpitel will move the next Resolution."

MR. ASHPITEL, F.S.A.—"I move that the following Gentlemen form the Council, and I am sure that you cannot have a much better list.—Charles Baily, Esq. F.S.A.; the Rev. Charles Boutell, M.A.; Joshua W. Butterworth, Esq. F.S.A.; the Rev. Henry Christmas, M.A. F.R.S. F.S.A.; James Crosby, Esq. F.S.A.; F. W. Fairholt, Esq. F.S.A.; Edward Griffith, Esq. F.R.S.; Robert Hesketh, Esq. F.R.I.B.A.; the Rev. Thomas Hugo, M.A. F.S.A.; Thomas Lott, Esq. F.S.A.; Henry Mogford, Esq. F.S.A.; the Rev. O. F. Owen, M.A., F.S.A.; Edward Richardson, Esq.; George Roots, Esq. B.A. F.S.A.; Martin Joseph Routh, Esq. M.A.; George Gilbert Scott, Esq. A.R.A., F.R.I.B.A.; Sydney Smirke, Esq. A.R.A., F.S.A. F.R.I.B.A.; C. Roach Smith, Esq. F.S.A.; William Tayler, Esq. F.S.S.; G. B. Webb, Esq. F.R.I.B.A.; and John Whichcord, Esq. F.S.A. F R.I.B.A."

MR. NELSON.—"I have very great pleasure in seconding that Resolution, because I think the names carry with them their own approval."

The Resolution was carried unanimously.

THE CHAIRMAN.—"The next Resolution will be moved by Mr. Butterworth."

MR. BUTTERWORTH, F.S.A.—"I am rather taken by surprise in having a Resolution placed in my hands: this Resolution, however, seems to me to be so sensible, so judicious, and in fact so business-like, that, as a business man as well as one somewhat given to archæological pursuits, I think I cannot do better than read it to you; and the good sense of the Resolution will, no doubt, speak for it far better than any remarks I may make upon the subject. This Resolution proposes that you should elect Mr. G. Bish Webb to the office of Honorary Secretary, and it further proposes that Mr. Henry Nethersole and Mr. Richard Ridgway be elected Auditors for the year 1855-1856. It is very necessary in a society such as ours, that there be good officers: and the Secretary and Auditors are officers of the utmost importance. The Secretary may be said to be, in fact, the steersman of

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the vessel. Without a good and active secretary, we cannot expect any great measure of success: and accordingly it is because I believe, in every sense of the expression, he will prove a good and an active secretary, that I feel confidence in recommending to you for this office Mr. George Bish Webb. And it is also because I believe Mr. Nethersole and Mr. Ridgway are gentlemen very conversant with business and are very familiar with the manner in which accounts ought to be kept, that I consider those gentlemen will very faithfully discharge their duties to you as auditors.

"I myself was one of the two or three individuals who first considered the propriety of establishing the London and Middlesex Archæological Society; I was one of those few who met in the first instance: and I own that it is a matter of pleasing surprise and satisfaction to me to see here, on so inclement a day, so large a number of ladies and gentlemen, assembled to do honour to the inauguration of our Society. If, in such weather as the present, with so many things against us, with Lord Londesborough and the Lord Mayor (who at the last moment said that, if possible, he would be with us) both absent, I think we may have very good hopes for the future. We are greatly indebted to the Chairman of the Provisional Committee for taking the chair on this occasion; I trust that he will have occasion to regard with satisfaction his having presided over the present meeting; and that on some fine day in May he will again be amongst us in this fine old hall when, with the presence of ladies to animate us and with the sun shining brightly upon us, we shall be better able than now to discern and to admire this most interesting relic of the old city of London. It is sad to know that the remains of Gerard's Hall should have been (as we have been informed) so ruthlessly cleared away: still Crosby Hall has been spared, and certainly it is a place most felicitously appropriate for the scene of this inaugural meeting.

"I beg to submit to you that Mr. George Bish Webb be appointed Honorary Secretary, and Mr. Henry Nethersole and Mr. Richard Ridgway be appointed Auditors for the year 1855-1856."

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Mr. M. J. ROUTH, M.A.—"I have much pleasure in seconding the proposition that Mr. Webb be the Honorary Secretary, and that Mr. Nethersole and Mr. Ridgway be the Auditors, being assured these gentlemen will discharge the duties of the respective offices faithfully, and in a manner calculated to prove altogether advantageous to our Society."

The Resolution was passed unanimously.

Mr. GEORGE BISH WEBB said,—"I have the honour, Mr. Chairman to submit the name of a gentleman who is proposed by Dr. Bell to become a Member of the Society; it is that of M. Delepierre, Consul-General of Belgium."

M. Delepierre was accordingly elected a Member.

Mr. ASHPITEL, F.S.A. then stated that, having within a few days had occasion to visit the House of Lords professionally, he found in one of the vaults a number of old statues, one of which is said to be a statue of St. Stephen. Mr. Ashpitel added that these relics were being subjected to very unbecoming and injurious treatment from the workmen employed at the new Palace of Westminster, and he suggested that a communication on the subject should be immediately addressed to the authorities by the Council of the Society.

Mr. DEPUTY LOTT, F.S.A. offered his thanks to Mr. Ashpitel for his communication, and cordially supported his suggestion relative to the interference of the Society. This circumstance reminded him, he said, of his having, about fifteen years ago, discovered and brought to light from the vaults of the Guildhall in the City three somewhat delapidated marble statues, which proved to be of Queen Elizabeth, and Kings Edward VI. and Charles I. They had originally been placed in front of a very beautiful chapel which had been destroyed, without hesitation, in order to make way for an edifice of a far less agreeable character, the courts of law. These statues Mr. Lott had had the satisfaction of having placed at the eastern end of the Guildhall. "One word" added Mr. Lott, "upon the Crystal Palace. I had the pleasure," he continued, "of obtaining the grant from the corporation of the City of London, by virtue of which the remains of the Gerard's Hall crypt might be preserved at Sydenham. I

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communicated with the authorities of the Crystal Palace, who were delighted at the idea of preserving in their grounds this interesting relic. When the masonry was taken down every stone was numbered; and there could have been no difficulty in putting them again together. Unfortunately they were laid aside, and some of the workmen made use of these beautifully wrought stones for building an engine-house: and thus it was that carelessness combined with utilitarianism to sacrifice this very interesting monument of early art. The Crystal Palace Directors have made some attempts to imitate chapels and fragments of mediæval buildings: but this genuine work would have far surpassed them all in value, and it certainly ought to have received very different treatment; as it is, the matter is most discreditable to the Directors of the Crystal Palace." (Cheers.)

Mr. CROSBY then said,—"One of the most pleasant duties of the day has devolved upon me; and in now carrying that duty into effect I feel assured that it is altogether unnecessary for me to address you at any length You have all had full opportunity of judging of the merits of our excellent Chairman; and I am quite sure that you will concur with me in the opinion that the manner in which the business of this meeting has been conducted leaves nothing to be desired. To those who have the honour of being personally acquainted with Mr. Hugo it would be unnecessary for me to remark upon his high reputation as an antiquary; and as such his connexion with our new Society becomes a matter of congratulation to us all. I feel it to be needless for me to say any more than that I leave in your hands the proposition that we offer to Mr. Hugo our very earnest and sincere thanks for the part which he has taken in forwarding the business of the Society, and for the manner in which he has conducted the proceedings of this meeting."

Mr. DENNES.—"I have very great pleasure in seconding this Resolution. I hope the 14th of December, 1855, will be a day to be remembered with pleasure in the history of London and Middlesex."

THE REV. CHARLES BOUTELL.—"Allow me to say a very few words upon this Resolution. The Resolution is incomplete whilst

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it acknowledges, in express terms, Mr. Hugo's services only as our Chairman to-day. Those gentlemen who are members of the Society, but who have not attended the meetings of the Provisional Committee charged with the duty of forming that Society, have not been able to estimate the value of the services of our present Chairman in his capacity of Chairman of the Provisional Committee. I think it right that all should understand that the success of the effort made by the Provisional Committee for establishing this Society is mainly due to the constant attention, the zealous co-operation, and great general ability evinced by the reverend gentleman who has so ably presided over this present meeting. Gentlemen, I felt that our vote of thanks would not have been complete without expressly acknowledging as well Mr. Hugo's earlier as his more recent services to us; I trust you will pardon my thus again intruding upon your attention." (Loud cheers).

The Resolution passed by acclamation.

The Chairman.—" Believe me, Ladies and Gentlemen, when I tell you that I am quite overcome both by the manner in which my name has been brought before you, and also by the cordiality with which you have responded to so flattering an expression of approval. Instead of occupying this chair, I had hoped to see it filled by Lord Londesborough, a nobleman most honourably known for his intelligent zeal in archæological studies, and to whose rare qualifications for the office of our President I most gladly bear my testimony. It was only to-day, as I have previously stated, that I learned it would be impossible for Lord Londesborough to be present with us, in consequence of the severity of his indisposition: and so late as this afternoon I had indulged the hope of seeing our Presidential Chair occupied by the Lord Mayor in his stead. The Lord Mayor also has been unable to attend; and thus it is that the important duties of your Chairman on this occasion of our first meeting as a Society have devolved upon my unworthy self. You have been pleased, however, to approve of my humble endeavour to discharge those duties faithfully; and I thank you most profoundly for this highly-gratifying evidence of your kindness, and assure you that my best energies

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shall be devoted to the furtherance and support of our young Institution.

"Before we part I desire to express my entire concurrence with all that has been said in reference to other Archæological Societies. We feel no jealousy towards any. We neither desire nor intend to trench upon the province of any; nor do we consider that, in establishing such a Society as the present, we are justly amenable to any such imputation. The Society of Antiquaries, of which many of us have the honour to be Fellows, embraces the whole world within its circle of examination and learned study. If any object of archæological interest be discovered at the furthest extremity of the earth, we at the "Antiquaries" are glad to have it exhibited to us; and, if considered worthy, the notice of it finds a place in the permanent record of our proceedings. In a kindred, though not co-extensive spirit, the Archæological Institute extends its investigations over the whole of the British islands; adding a new and interesting feature to the mode of operations which characterises the elder Society, by making periodical visits to the most celebrated localities in the provinces. In those efforts we warmly desire their success, and assist them, as far as possible, in the acquirement of it. Such, however, is neither the scope nor the object of this Society. And therefore, in entering upon our comparatively restricted field of operation, we are and can be actuated only by friendly feelings towards those institutions, and at the same time earnestly hope that they will entertain similar sentiments towards ourselves. We are, indeed, all of us fellow-workers: they in their widely-extended sphere of action; we—and permit me to add that ours is a most glorious, if not so spacious a province—we in our grand old City of London, and in our noble metropolitan county. With what London and Middlesex have in store for us in the matter of archæology we are, and we well may be, content: we shall find ample occupation for our most earnest devotion, and for our most active energies. We have now only to address ourselves to our work—our own work—thoroughly and in earnest. Allow me to congratulate you on present ap-

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pearances, and to wish you a signal, enduring, and complete success." (Loud cheers.)

Those ladies and gentlemen who had signified such desire were, in conclusion, formally declared to be Members of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society.

The Meeting then separated.

Roman bronze Fibula, actual size, found in Ratcliff Highway, October 27, 1852.

In the possession of the Rev. Thomas Hugo.

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INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS,

BY THE REV. THOMAS HUGO, M.A. F.S.A. F.L.S. ETC.

[Read at the Second General Meeting, held in Crosby Hall, Jan. 28, 1856; the Right Honourable the Lord Londesborough in the Chair.]

My Lord, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—We meet this evening, not indeed to inaugurate our young Institution, but, our government and rules already agreed upon and our social machinery adjusted, to enter, for the first time as a Society, on the discussion of those peculiar topics which it is our aim and object to investigate. We are assembled in the heart of our ancient, renowned, and beloved metropolis; and in one of its most beautiful structures and most suggestive localities. We are congregated in a noble hall, which has reverberated to the voices of some of the greatest of our countrymen, whose inspiration yet hovers around and hallows the spot. And we are come for what I will not hesitate to call a sacred purpose,—to endeavour, namely, to rescue from oblivion, and to acquire information about things, which, as a nation and a community, it greatly behoves us to know and to remember, and to deliberate together accordingly as to the manner in which the same may most effectually and faithfully be done.

It cannot but be a matter of great astonishment that it should have remained till now to set on foot an association whose sole business should be to investigate the antiquities of the capital of England, and to record the discoveries which from day to day are being made within its pale. Surprising, however, as it is, the fact is notorious. Of all existing societies established for the cultivation of archæological knowledge, there is not one which regards our metropolis as its own peculiar field, or which looks upon the remains of its ancient grandeur with a partial and exclusive eye. The honoured parent of all our archæological bodies, the Society of Antiquaries, devotes equal attention to foreign and home antiquities; whilst the Archæological Institute, though for the most part confining its researches to our own country, extends them to the remotest limits of our shores. The more general attention

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which, during the last few years, has happily been devoted to these pursuits has raised into existence a goodly number of provincial societies, which have effected immense good, and for whose most valuable efforts in rescuing from oblivion the fast-decaying memorials of our early history no antiquary can be sufficiently grateful. In the midst of such general indications of earnest and intelligent zeal, the want of a society like the present becomes still more palpable, and its absence still more conspicuous. Indeed it can only be accounted for by the fact that a fancy has prevailed that those bodies which have their permanent seat in London are accustomed first and foremost to direct their attention to the discovery, elucidation, collection, and preservation of those ancient remains by which they are immediately surrounded. I need not tell the audience which I have now the honour of addressing that any thought of the kind is but a fancy, and entirely destitute of real foundation. It is not the province of these societies so to do; nor were they instituted for such an end. And therefore they are not to be blamed for an omission which, how much soever to be lamented, they were not created to supply.

Here, then, the present Society steps in, and appeals to the public at large for aid and support. It does not address itself exclusively to one class or order of men. The object of its study is undoubtedly a learned one; but it appeals not to learned men alone for a vigorous right hand or an approving smile. It speaks to all. For it recollects with the highest self-respect, which is the first step towards real success, the scene of its operations, and the matters whereon it is employed. May I in such a place, and before such a company as the present, be permitted to enter into any detail of that scene and of these matters? If so, I would humbly suggest the recollection that the field of our labours is a Capital and a County where the greatest and best of Englishmen have dwelt and found a home; where, generation after generation, incidents have eventuated which have constituted this country's history; and where almost every foot may be called holy ground, dedicated to religion, to literature, to heroism, and to love. There is hardly an acre within the limits here assigned to us which has not its tale of wonder and enchanting interest; and

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on many of them have been done the grandest acts, and have been spoken the grandest words that the muse of England's history can cherish, and delight to recal for the admiration of her sons. Within the crumbling foundations which modern excavators are daily bringing to light, have lived and breathed those whom we regard as our common benefactors, and to whom we point as examples and patterns, whose lives are our admiration, their works our delight, and their words our treasure! The very names of a multitude of our localities will be enough to prove how world-wide is their fame and how world-enduring is their interest.—The Tower, where Gundulf, saint and sage combined, first raised his stately fabric, awful still as ever, where age after age the bravest, noblest, fairest of the land found, some a palace, some a prison, and some a grave; Westminster Abbey and Hall, the one the most revered of English temples, the other the scene of regal magnificence and of the law's majesty age after age; the Temple Church, dedicated so long ago as 1185 by Heraclius, patriarch of Jerusalem; All Hallows Barking, where Launcelot Andrewes, the revered Bishop of Winchester, was baptised, and where the venerable Fisher and the martyred Laud were carried headless when tyranny and puritanism had done their worst; Crosby Hall, where Richard of Gloucester, and Sir Thomas More, and Shakspeare, and a host of other worthies resided as possessors or as guests; Austin Friars, with its fearful tale of sacrilege; St. Olave's Hart Street, whither Pepys carried the news of the victory over the Dutch at sea, and whispered it to Sir John Minnes and my lady Pen; Guildhall, the scene of the City pageants; London Stone; the Metropolitan Cathedral of St. Paul, and the parish churches of Sir Christopher Wren; Holland House, where Addison sent for the profligate Earl of Warwick "that he might see how a Christian can die;" Hampton Court, the delight of Wolsey and the admiration of every man of taste from his day to our own—what hosts of memories can they each and all elicit! And these are but a few among the most interesting of those ten thousand objects which invite our attention and stimulate our curiosity. Things which are first elsewhere are tenth-rate here. Remains of ancient work, of

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which many of our provinces are justly proud, would here rank among the many, and attract no special observation. Indeed the difficulty rather is to select and particularise—the ground is so rich, the materials so abundant, the interest so paramount and yet so general. Investigate as we may, there is still more to know; labour as we will, there is still more to do; collect as we can, every excavation reveals fresh features, and supplies fresh examples We stand a chance of being perplexed by the treasures presented to us, of being bewildered in the blaze of light, and of having our faculties too confused and overpowered by the abundance to assist us as we could desire.

Then, the remains which exist are not only of superlative interest, but of varied ages, and present a regular chain of study from primæval times down through continuous generations to our own. In architecture, for instance, we have in the metropolis itself, spite of the devastation inflicted by the great fire, specimens of every successive style. There is, just to mention one or two, the noble simplicity of the Norman chapel in the White Tower built for the Conqueror, and of the church of St. Bartholomew, the Early-English of Westminster Abbey and the Temple, the Decorated of Austin Friars, and the Perpendicular of St. Helen and St. Andrew Undershaft. We have several portions of old London wall; and various crypts exist which are already known, besides more which only require a little careful investigation to detect and bring to light. We have houses innumerable, full of interesting details and suggestive peculiarities. We have immense stores of MS. memoranda all but untouched, and alas! unreadable by most eyes, yet rich beyond calculation.*

* As a specimen of what may be recovered, I offer the annexed illustration. It is a tracing from a Survey of the former part of the seventeenth century, probably copied from one more ancient, preserved among a number of early maps at Carlton Ride, and furnishes us with a view of the Cistercian Abbey of St. Mary Graces, New Abbey, or East Minster, once standing eastward of East Smithfield, beyond Tower Hill. The house was founded by King Edward III. in 1349, at the time of the first great pestilence. A toft of ground was procured of Nicholas, prior of the Holy Trinity without Aldgate, for the burial of those who died in the visitation; "and a chapel was built in the same place to the honour of God." To which King Edward, in

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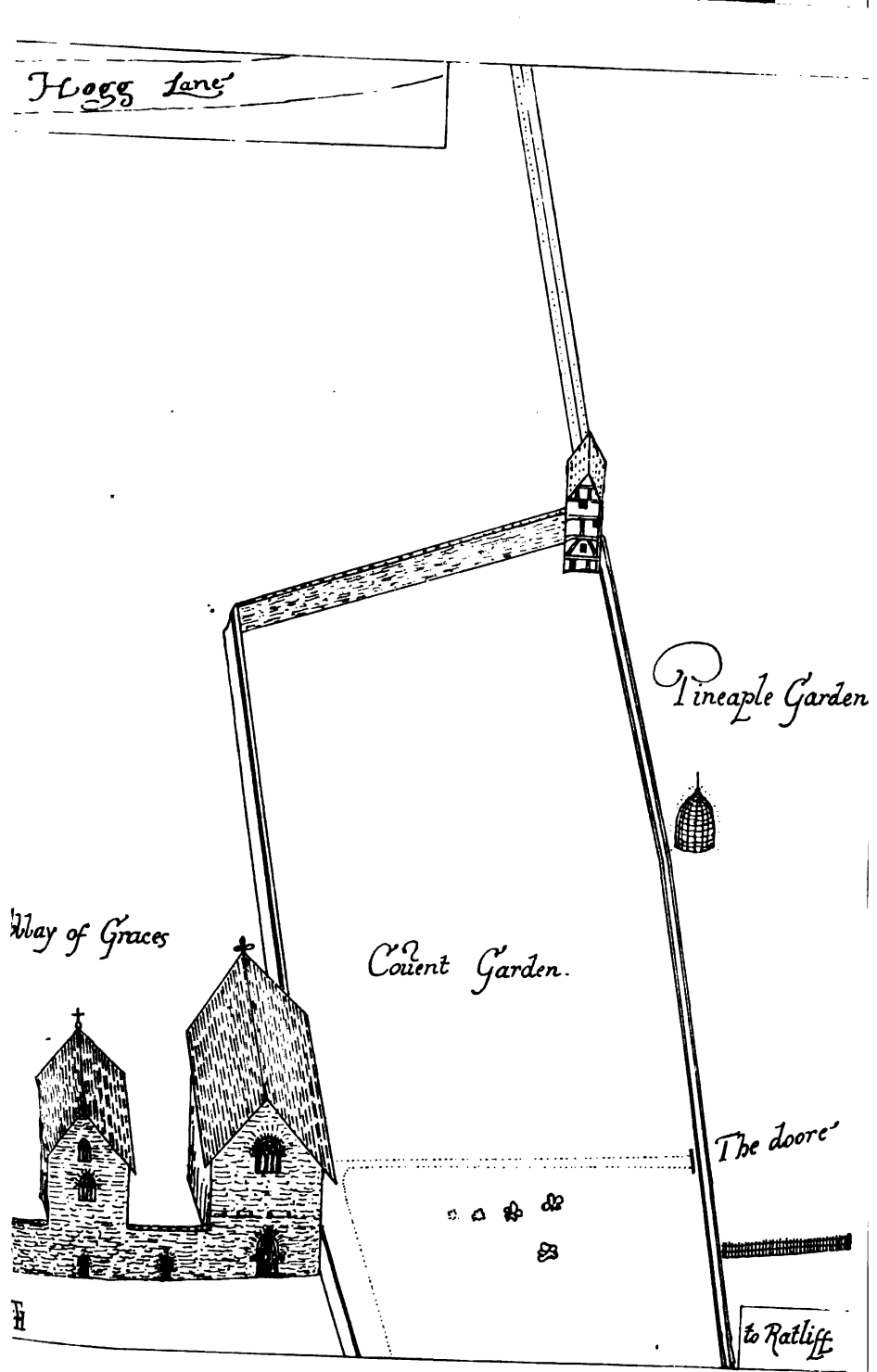

The Abbey and Precinct of S. Mary Graces London.

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We cannot excavate to the depth of a few yards between the Tower and St. Paul's, without turning up abundant evidences of Roman occupation. Coins, tessellated pavements, pottery, remains of buildings, occasionally fragments of inscriptions, bronze swords and spearheads, and domestic implements of every description, together with works of ornament, fibulæ and rings, statuettes and engraved gems, all attest the existence of a large, opulent, and luxurious city. Nor indeed are these the earliest proofs of human possession. Specimens now soliciting your attention in our temporary museum carry us back to ages when no Roman legionary had yet set foot in Britain, and when the Phœnician trader was the only foreigner who landed on our shores. To illustrate this period there are some exquisite flint and bronze celts, the finest that I have ever had the good fortune to see, and to which I direct your special notice. There are also several examples of bronze armillæ, worn by the fair for personal adornment, and possibly accompanying a woad-dyed skin. Proceeding downward from the Roman æra, we find coins of our several monarchs, implements illustrating the daily life and manners of the people, and ecclesiastical antiquities in the shape of crucifixes, bullæ, pilgrim's signs, carved fragments of buildings, and encaustic tiles. So that among the results of a large excavation it does not need an eye more than ordinarily practised in such matters to detect the work of many centuries, ranging from ages previous to the

performance of a vow, there added a monastery. The abbey shared the fate of other religious houses in 1539. Since which time, adds Newcourt, "the said monastery being by King Henry VIII. in the 34th year of his reign, granted to Sir Arthur Darcy, was clean pulled down; and of late time, in place thereof, is built a large storehouse for victuals; and convenient ovens are built there for baking of biskets for the Royal Navy; and it is the Victualling Office for the same to this day. The grounds adjoyning and belonging formerly to the said abby, have small tenements built thereon." (Newcourt, Repertorium, fol. Lond. 1708, vol. i. pp. 465, 466.) Though the abbey is frequently mentioned in the records, its architectural peculiarities were entirely unknown previous to our cognisance of this very interesting delineation, which exhibits the Decorated character of the edifice, and represents King Edward's building as continuing, with little or no alteration, till the era of the Dissolution. "Hogg Lane" is still remembered, and "Ratcliffe" is still the designation of a neighbouring locality.

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Christian æra down to times but little anterior to those in which we live.

It is, however, a melancholy fact, and one which has its due weight in bringing this Society into existence, that day by day sees the wanton destruction of these and similar objects, which if lost are of course lost for ever. The unreasonable and senseless apathy with which many regard the memorials of by-gone times, so far from lifting a finger to ward off mutilation or to prevent decay, seems, unless summarily checked, destined in no great while to surrender every vestige of ancient occupation. Ruthless alterations are daily perpetrated, where the original features of that which is so sacrilegiously violated are entirely disregarded and beaten out. Excavations are daily made; and, when a pavement or other ancient work is perceived, it is forthwith dug up and broken to pieces. The specimen now in the room is the largest that could be found in a mass of fragments of what constituted a very fine tessellated pavement, discovered in Suffolk Lane so lately as last year. No doubt there are instances where the removal of ancient objects is strictly necessary in favour of public utility. Of such a kind, perhaps, was the removal of Gerard's Hall, most deeply indeed to be deplored, but, as I understand, imperatively called for by the circumstances of the case. The antiquary is not deaf to reason or blind to modern requirements. It is a libel on him to call him so. He knows that streets must be widened, and eminences levelled, and buildings removed, to meet the needs of our immensely increased population. He knows that a "sentiment," as some are pleased to style it, is not to be defended and to rule at the expense of advantages important and universal, but unattainable without a sacrifice. He has at least a right, however, to demand that alterations shall not be wanton mutilations, that people shall not be allowed to go out of their way to deface and ruin that to which other and greater men attach an unapproachable value; that due respect shall be paid to love of antiquity, and to what generally accompanies it, love of country; and that it shall not be quite so easy for Vandal brutality or utilitarian ignorance to deal with a nation's treasures as their shameless will inclines. If

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sacred memorials of olden time are to be taken down, let it at least be shown that the removal is necessary. If ancient remains are discovered in the course of excavations, let them at least be examined by competent persons; and let any objects of antique handicraft which are brought to light be carefully collected and religiously preserved. All this the antiquary has a right to claim—though his claim is in London but too commonly ignored, if not scouted and derided.

To endeavour to save some few things from impending ruin, at least to examine them while they are still in being and our own, to record their peculiarities, and to furnish those who are to come after us with information which the lapse of day after day makes it more difficult to afford, to watch excavations and to chronicle discoveries, to rescue what we can from wanton destruction, and to prevent the dispersion of metropolitan antiquities in general, is the task to which we address ourselves. Daily we are losing precious treasures—we will try to save them. Daily we hear of needless aggressions—we will endeavour to prevent them. Daily we see evidences of apathetic carelessness in the preservation of ancient relics—we will do our best to defeat them. Daily are important fragments of information sinking down into the abyss of oblivion—we will endeavour to arrest them in their descent, and to make them available for future investigators. We are not bent upon making a museum of pretty trinkets and singular curiosities. We desire rather to study archæology in that spirit, truly philosophical, which values its acquisitions not simply as beautiful objects or examples of high art, but rather as materials for the elucidation of history and the illustration of the life of times long passed away. We would regard every object, how humble and rude soever, as teaching a lesson of equal, if not greater importance than that presented by one of the most exquisite workmanship and refined character. We know that truth is substantiated as well by humble as by splendid adjuncts; and our sole object is the exhibition and elucidation of truth. In our meetings we will endeavour to bring before our members at large many facts connected with the City and County as yet unrecorded; and to introduce to each other our several

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contributions in strict connexion with the purpose for which we are instituted. In our publications we will hope and endeavour to do accurately and well what our pecuniary position may possibly compel to be little. Whatever treatment we receive from rivals (for rivals no doubt we shall have, as archæology in this country seems fated to bring out the antagonistic principle), we will give no real occasion of offence. We envy, I am sure, no society its field of operation; and we beg to be met in a similar spirit, and to be treated with similar courtesy. We believe that there is abundant room for all—that there is indeed more to be done than what, with our multitudinous avocations of other kinds, all of us can ever hope to accomplish—that anything gained by any one will be so much saved from certain destruction. And we are determined to have no squabbles—a decision imperatively taught us by the fate of other bodies which once promised well. We regard ourselves as occupied on too sacred, high, and important a work to allow ourselves to waste our time and energies on miserable discords, petty jealousies, and unworthy intrigues. Looking on our array of names, I may surely be allowed to add, that, be the issue of our Institution what it will, at the worst they who come after us shall say, "They were not unequal to their work; but they were among the first labourers in the field, and the times were against them." Whether, therefore, we succeed or fail, we will endeavour to show in the former case that at least by earnestness and archæological knowledge, by courteous bearing and upright conduct, we are not undeserving of our success, or in the latter, that lack of sense or lack of honesty and of good-temper was not the cause of our failure. And so, with consciousness of right motives, and a desire of doing good, prepared for any fortune, but hopeful of the better, we entrust our bark to the winds and waves, and steer for utility if not for fame.

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ON SOME LATE DISCOVERIES IN ROMAN LONDON.

IN A LETTER FROM CHARLES ROACH SMITH, ESQ. TO THE REV. THOMAS HUGO.

[Read at Crosby Hall, January 28, 1856.]

MY DEAR SIR, 5, Liverpool Street, City, January 26th, 1856.

As particular engagements prevent my taking an active part (or at least a personal part) in the direction of your proceedings on Monday evening, I am compelled to forward you a few notes on some discoveries made during last year in the City. Many important additions will no doubt occur to you.

Among these later discoveries may be named the fine tessellated pavement found upon the site of the Excise Office, which formed part of the extensive villa indicated some years since when an opening was made in the cellar of Mr. Volkman in Bishopsgate Street.* Westward to these may be noted the pavements found under the French Protestant Church in Threadneedle Street, preserved by the generosity of the late public-spirited Mr. Moxhay. Still further westward, pavements were cut into, of which we can only say that some were of superior workmanship. Taking these localities into consideration, with similar remains on the south side of Bishopsgate Street and Leadenhall Street, we ascertain one of the wealthier districts of Roman London.

A tessellated pavement, of great extent and good design, lay beneath Paternoster Row. All I can say of it is, that it belonged to the better class of such works, and exhibited busts (of deities?) in circular medallions. Opportunity was not afforded for making even the roughest sketch; and it was cut to pieces by excavators for the public sewer.

The remains discovered opposite Merchant Taylors' School indicated a villa of the better class. I have secured, by the aid of Mr. Waller, a drawing of a fragment of wall-painting, of a superior kind, found there.

* In the account of the more recent discovery published in the "Archæologia" (1855), the connection between these two pavements is not noticed.—ED.

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Passing over, for the present, further details of more recent discoveries, I come to one which, though it can hardly be called "a discovery," is yet allied to it, although no pickaxe or spade has yet made an actual manifestation.

In archæological researches it is always interesting to be able to allocate the sites of public buildings. It would not be too much to imagine that a *basilica* stood on that part of the modern Clement's Lane where the large stone, bearing a few letters of the sounding words PROVINCIA BRITANNIAE, was raised up from its deep bed; nor can we do else but suppose that the massive fragment of the three seated goddesses, the Deæ Matres (from Crutched Friars), stood, when entire, on the outside of a temple dedicated to those popular divinities. But London has ever been too populous and too thriving, and the commercial spirit too paramount and exclusive, to leave us much hope of ever tracing even the outlines of the vast buildings which once covered its area—buildings, the last visible ruins of which have long since been swept away.

The visits I have paid to many of the ancient cities and towns in France (the monuments of antiquity in which have met a better fate than those in this country) have convinced me that they were usually provided with, among other public buildings, a theatre, or, as it is popularly but often erroneously called, an amphitheatre. The ruins of many of these theatres are fine and well-preserved; and, from a knowledge of their peculiar construction, the sites of others not so perfect can be readily determined. See, for instance, those at Jublains and at Evreux, mentioned in my "Collectanea Antiqua," vol. iii. Londinium was a town of far greater importance than many of these places, and, I think, doubtless had one theatre at least. You will recollect that the theatres in Gaul, (those just referred to, and many others,) were built into a hill or rising ground; the earth being excavated, so that much labour would be saved by adapting the back of the hill for the rows of seats, as at Lillebonne, &c. I had often noticed the precipitous descent from Green Arbour Lane, opposite Newgate, into Seacoal Lane, which I was unable to explain in any satisfactory way, until I viewed the immediate environs of London in connection

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with those of the towns in France, just referred to. I then accounted for the remarkable elevation and sudden descent, in the belief that masses of masonry are yet extant beneath the houses, which have in fact been built upon them. I could cite many instances where the configuration of streets and buildings is influenced by ruins. This can be illustrated well in London itself, and at Colchester, to go no farther. I need trouble you no more on this supposed discovery, except to quote the opinion of my colleague, Mr. John Green Waller, whose knowledge of mediæval London you well know. I requested him to examine the locality in reference to my opinion. He writes:—

"I am convinced that your notion is the most probable way of accounting for what is somewhat anomalous, and distinct from any other part of the banks of the Fleet river. My idea, when I first examined it, was that it was a natural cliff; but this was soon dissipated by an examination of the whole locality; and the position of the channel of the Fleet, which is much too distant to have caused any earth-slip; and why should it occur *here* only in the course of that stream?

"From Newgate to Holborn Bridge has been a steep natural bank. Ludgate Hill presents the same features, though not quite so pronounced. Between these boundaries, where, *naturally*, we ought to have the same gradual decline, we find a large level space, upon a part of which exists the site of the Fleet prison. This site *must* be artificial; and then it becomes a question for what purpose was so large an excavation made into the side of a hill? Your solution explains everything; and I have no doubt it is absolutely correct."

In a second letter my friend says:—"I have been to Seacoal Lane again; and I feel convinced that your theory is the only one that can satisfactorily account for the indications there seen," &c.

It is not because the remains of antiquity do not meet the eye, that they therefore do not exist. In London the destruction of ancient monuments has been effected on a scale of magnitude quite beyond the conception of those who have not taken the pains to make themselves acquainted with what has existed in comparison with what is yet extant; and who, if they think at all, think only of the present. None of these persons (and they

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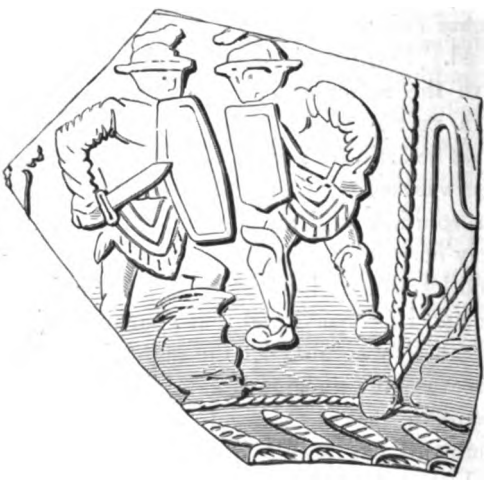
are the great multitude), in passing through and about the City, ever care to imagine the condition and appearance of the streets and buildings in the Norman, Saxon, and Roman times. Even the better educated, seeing few remains anterior to the reign of Charles II., doubt the asserted splendour of London in its earlier days. This paucity of ostensible monuments has even been seized upon by those who make it their business to palliate the slow and sure result of centuries of neglect and wilful destruction, and the continued indifference of the Corporation towards the relics of the past. But the rifted shaft, the shattered cornice, the colossal imperial head of bronze, and the lettered stone, proclaim aloud, ever and anon, in language which the archæologist at least can understand, the wealth, the taste, and the luxury of the place under its Roman masters.

Believe me, my dear Sir,

Ever yours, with all good wishes,

C. ROACH SMITH.

The Rev. Thomas Hugo,
57, Bishopsgate Street Within.



Fragment of Samian Ware, from Budge Row, October, 1853.

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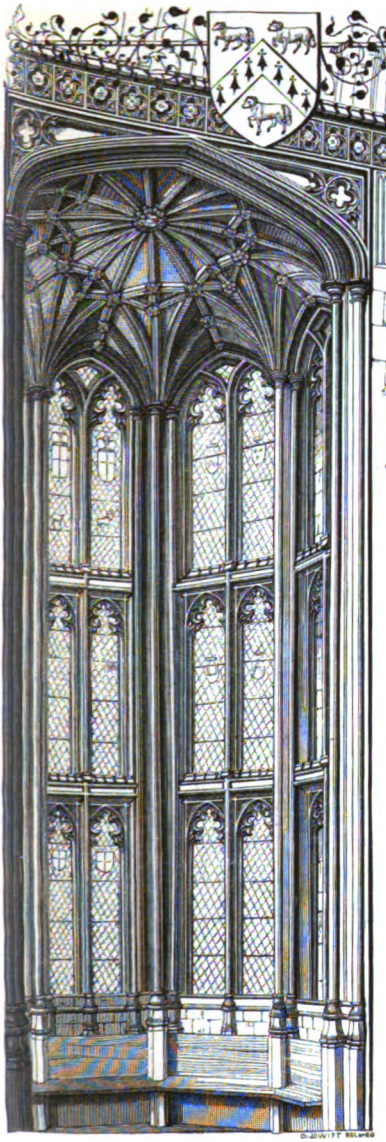
A MEMOIR OF CROSBY PLACE.

BY THE REV. THOMAS HUGO, M.A., F.S.A., ETC.

(Read in Crosby Hall, Jan. 28, 1856.)



BAY WINDOW, CROSBY HALL.

It is the truthful remark of a well-known writer of ancient Rome, whose elegance and facility on the one hand, and whose knowledge of human nature on the other, have found admirers in every intellectual age, that,

> "Segnius irritant animos demissa per aurem,
> Quam quæ sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus, et quæ
> Ipse sibi tradit spectator;"*

in other words, that no description of a thing can equal the sight of it. Descriptions ever so accurate and minute want something of the actuality of the object described, be it whatever it may. Words, when well chosen, may go near the reality, but do not, cannot, communicate to their hearers its exact portraiture. Fully impressed with the truth of this assertion, the London and Middlesex Archæologi-

* Hor. A. P. 180, 181, 182.

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cal Society is not simply content to describe to its members the interesting remains of which our city and county are full, but, wherever practicable, desires to introduce them to the localities themselves, where, face to face with objects, the supremacy of whose loveliness the tongue is feeble to depict, they may each for himself enter into their peculiar beauties and breathe their native inspiration. Accordingly we hold our meeting this evening in Crosby Hall, and take advantage of our good fortune to study the various points of interest connected with the scene before us—the remains of a noble edifice, than which our city contains few, if any, more deserving of notice both for its architectural excellence and its eventful history.

Crosby Hall, as it is now called, formed part of a very extensive and magnificent mansion erected somewhere about the year 1470, by Sir John Crosbie, a member of the Company of Grocers, and a woolstapler. Sir John was the beau-ideal of a merchant of the olden time—just the one who, in conjunction with others like himself, has raised this great city to the place which it now occupies as the metropolis of the world—a man of unimpeachable integrity and unswerving honour, joined to indefatigable industry and clear-sighted acumen. The year of his birth we know not, and the name of his birth-place is involved in similar obscurity. It has indeed been said that the builder of Crosby Place raised himself to power and opulence by his own good conduct and thoughtful sagacity. If so, the more praise, I presume, is due to him. The upright old chronicler Stowe has even condescended, though he dissents from it, to notice a report that our knight was a foundling! He says, "I hold it a fable saide of him to be named *Crosbie*, of being found by a crosse, for I have read of other to have the name of Crosbie before him, namely, in the yeere 1406, the 7th of Henry IVth, the sayde king gave to his servant John Crosbie the wardship of Joane, daughter and sole heyre to John Jordaine, fishmonger, and this Crosbie might be the father or grandfather to Sir John Crosbie."* What Stowe suggests is most probably the truth; for the dates and circumstances may fairly be held to unite in the John Crosbie to whom was given the wardship of Joane Jordaine, and him of the same name who was the father of the builder of this renowned hall.

* Survay, 4to. 1603, p. 174.

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It must not, however, be supposed that all our knowledge of the worthy merchant is of so meagre a character as that regarding his birth and parentage. By no means is this the case. In the troublous year 1470 he was elected one of the Sheriffs of London, having previously become a member of the Grocers' Company, and an Alderman. During his shrievalty, he accompanied the Mayor, Aldermen, and a large company of citizens on the 21st May, 1471, to meet King Edward IV. between Shoreditch and Islington on that monarch's entrance into London, on which occasion he had the honour of receiving the order of knighthood. I need not enter into the various diplomatic employments which he held through the favour of his Sovereign, by whom his sterling character was duly appreciated. But I must not omit to say that Sir John was Mayor of the staple of Calais, a representative in Parliament of the city of London in the year 1461, and warden of his Company. The records show, however, that in one point at least the parallel fails between him and Sir Richard Whittington—he never was Lord Mayor.

Sir John Crosbie was gathered to his fathers in the year 1475. He had been twice married, and his second wife survived him. He was buried in the Chapel of the Holy Ghost, within the neighbouring Church of St. Helen's, which at that time was the conventual church of a Benedictine priory, and the church of the parish in which we have now met. "A fayre monument," as Stowe says, "of him and his ladye is raised there." An intelligent writer in the Gentleman's Magazine for June, 1832, has furnished us with a notice of a very curious peculiarity in this tomb. "Sir John," he writes, "is said to have been a zealous Yorkist, and it is very remarkable that his effigy does not wear the Lancastrian badge, the collar of SS, a very general distinction for persons of gentility or noble blood, but a collar composed of roses and suns alternately disposed, the white rose and the sun being the badge adopted by Edward IV. after the ominous parhelion which appeared in the heavens on the day of the victory at Mortimer's Cross."*

Of his two wives the first was named Anneys or Agnes,

* Other examples of this the Yorkist collar occur at St. Alban's, Arundel, Little Easton, Broxbourne, &c.

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and, according to an inscription formerly existing on the tomb just alluded to, died in 1466. By her he had several children, five of whom were called Thomas, Richard, John, Margaret and Joan, but none appear to have survived him. The name of his second wife was Anne, daughter of William Chedworth, but by her it is probable that he left no issue. His will, dated March 6, 1471, is a most curious, valuable, and interesting document, a brief abstract of which will not, I hope, be condemned as a needless digression.

First, he bequeathes and recommends his soul to Almighty God, his Maker and Redeemer, and to the most glorious Virgin His Mother, our Lady St. Mary, and to the blessed College of His Saints, and his body to be buried in the Chapel of the Holy Ghost, within the parish church of St. Helen, within Bishopsgate of London, in the same place whereas the body of Anneys his late wife was buried, in case it fortuned him to decease within the realm of England. He then particularises the ornaments and general character of his tomb, and bequeathes various sums to the prioress and nuns of the house of St. Helen, and the parish priest of the parish church of St. Helen to do Placebo, Dirge, and Masse of Requiem, for his soul, and that of Anneys his late wife, and for the souls of all his children passed to God, and for all Christian souls. For a similar purpose he bequeathes 40*s.* to the following:—The prior and convent of the house of Friars Augustines within the city of London, now called Austin Friars, in Broad Street; the wardens and convent of the house of Friars Minores within Newgate, now Christ's Hospital; the prior and convent of the house of Friars Preachers within Ludgate; the prior and convent of the house of the Friars of Carmel in Fleet Street; and the prior and convent of the house of the Crowched Friars near the Tower. Besides these bequests, he gives various sums to St. Mary Spittle without Bishopsgate; to the distract people in the Hospital of Bedlam; to St. Thomas Spittle in Southwark; to Elsing Spittle within Cripplegate, now Sion College; to St. Bartholomew Spittle in Smithfield; to the abbess and convent of the house of the Minoresses without Aldgate, where his cousin Dame Sybil Christmas was a nun professed; to the aforesaid lady forty pounds; to the prioress and convent of the house of Holy-

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well beside Shoreditch; and the prioress and convent of Stratford-le-Bow. Besides this, he gives to the prior and convent of the Charterhouse, and to the abbess, father, brethren, and sisters of the monastery of Sion, as well as to various ecclesiastics by name, various sums for religious purposes. He gives sums of 40 shillings each to the prisoners in Newgate, Ludgate, King's Bench, and the Marshalsea; to the old work of the cathedral church of St. Paul; for a priest to pray for his soul in his parish church of St. Helen; and for his obit to be holden yearly during forty years in the said church; for the repairs of Bishopsgate and the walls adjoining, 100*l.*; for a new tower of stone to be erected at the south end of London Bridge, 100*l.*; for the repairs of Rochester Bridge, 10*l.*; and to a host of lay relations, friends, and servants, various sums. I must not omit to add that he gives to Anne his wife, in the name of dower and share, two thousand pounds in money, and all her array, girdles, brooches, beads, and rings, to her own proper body, for her own proper wearing, pertaining; and also all his household, whole as it is; all his plate of gold and silver gilt, and parcel gilt, and of silver white, and all his armours "as well curaces, bregandynes, and jakks," and all his wearing clothes and all other gear to his own proper person pertaining, excepted. He also leaves her the house of Crosby Place for the residue of her life, or during the nonage of her child if she were pregnant at the time of his decease; and, on ultimate failure of issue, to his executors, who should sell the same, and dispose of it for the benefit of his soul and his wife's, as before directed. The rest of this very voluminous document is occupied with directions as to the disposition of his manor of Haneworth, &c.; and, in default of issue, he wills the entire residue of the proceeds to the Grocers' Company to dispose for his soul, viz.: "in doing of masses; in making or buying of books, chaleyces, and other apparelment of the church, and to be given unto poor churches where need shall require; in relieving of poor prisoners, and getting some of them out of prison; in marriage of poor maidens of good name and fame, to each of them xl*s.* at least; in amending of broken bridges, and of foul, noyous, and perilous high weies, and in

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other deeds of alms, charity, and pity." So universal was the beneficence and so unbounded the wealth of this great citizen of London, the good founder of Crosby Place. His will was proved in the Prerogative Court of the Archbishop of Canterbury, 6th February, 1475.

After this sketch of the life of its first master, we will now address ourselves more particularly to a concise history of the edifice itself, beginning with its foundation, in or about 1470, and continuing our notices to the present time: and we will then take an architectural survey of that portion of it which yet remains.

To those of my audience who are unacquainted with the history of this magnificent mansion, I feel certain that a mere list of its various tenants and others connected with it will be perfectly amazing from its interest and richness. Under the gorgeous roof beneath which we are now assembled, some, not only of our monarchs and the highest-born of our countrymen, but of the personages dearest to England's heart, have resided and called the place their home. And words have been spoken here, both in grief and in gladness, whose echoes no lapse of time shall avail to still.

It was in the year 1466, the 6th of Edward IV., that "Dame Alice Ashfelde, Pryoresse of the house or convent of St. Helene," demised to John Crosbie certain lands and tenements adjoining, south-west of the priory precinct, for a term of ninety-nine years, at a rent of 11*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* per annum. The original deed describes the ground with considerable minuteness, as having a frontage along the "Kinges Strete," or "Bisshoppesgate Strete," of about a hundred and ten feet, and as running eastward fifty-eight feet and a half. The outline of the property to the east and south must have been extremely irregular, and cannot at the present time be ascertained with certainty. Nine years elapsed between the commencement of this lease and the death of Sir John Crosbie; and in that period the house was erected. The earliest notice of it which I have seen is that of Stowe, who says that "it was built of stone and timber, very large and beautiful, and the highest at that time in London." Scarcely was it completed, however, before its munificent owner died. Four or five years at the utmost were all,

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during which he could have enjoyed the concentration of beauties which his good taste and his wealth had been the means of creating.

How long his widow resided here after his decease I know not, or the circumstances of her removal. In 1483, however, eight years subsequent to his death, we find in possession no less a person than Richard Plantagenet, Duke of Gloucester, afterwards King Richard III. He was probably a tenant under Sir John Crosbie's executors. After arriving in London on the 4th of May, 1483, "the sayd Duke," says Fabyan, "caused the Kyng to be remoued vnto the Tower, and his broder with hym, * * * and the Duke lodgid hymselfe in Crosbyes Place, in Bysshoppis-gate Strete."* We learn also from Holinshed that "by little and little all folke withdrew from the Tower, and drew unto Crosbies in Bishops gates Street, where the Protector kept his houshold. The Protector had the resort; the King in maner desolate."† Here, according to tradition, the crown was offered him by the mayor and citizens on the 25th of June, 1483. On the 27th he was proclaimed; and on the following day he left Crosby Place for his palace of Westminster.

From the circumstance of Richard's residence, this mansion derives one of its special attractions. Not simply, however, from the fact itself, but from the notice which it has on this account received from one, who has only to make a place the scene of his matchless impersonations in order to confer on it an immortality of interest. In this manner one greater than Richard Plantagenet has done that for Crosby Place, which the mere fact that it was the home of a King would not of itself impart. Thrice in his play of Richard the Third our own Shakspeare has referred to it by name, and has made the transactions which took place under this roof integral parts of his imperishable drama. In the marvellous scene, after a perusal of which we may ask ourselves, as Richard did,

> Was ever woman in this humour woo'd?
> Was ever woman in this humour won?

we have the duke, reconciled at length to the Lady Anne, thus addressing her:—

* Fabyan, edit. Ellis, 1811, p. 668.

† Holinshed, edit. 1587, vol. iii. p. 721.

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If thy poor devoted servant may
But beg one favour at thy gracious hand,
Thou dost confirm his happiness for ever.
Anne.—What is it?
Glo.—That it may please you leave these sad designs
To him that hath more cause to be a mourner,
And presently repair to Crosby Place:
Where—after I have solemnly interred,
At Chertsey monastery, this noble king,
And wet his grave with my repentant tears,—
I will with all expedient duty see you.*

The reunion was here (we will not censure the slight anachronism on the poet's part), and it led to Gloucester's marriage with the lady whose vituperation of him had been so unmeasured.

In another scene, where he commissions his assassins to murder Clarence, he adds,

When you have done, repair to Crosby Place.†

And again, in the scene with Buckingham and Catesby, where Gloucester sends the latter to sound Hastings with reference to his designs upon the crown, he says at parting,

Shall we hear from you, Catesby, ere we sleep?
Catesby.—You shall, my lord.
Glo.—At Crosby Place, there shall you find us both.
* * * * *
Come, let us sup betimes; that afterwards
We may digest our complots in some form.‡

Here the supper was eaten, and the complots were digested!

Crosby Place, Shakspeare, and Richard, are thus identified. It has been said that "the reason why this building received the attention which it has from Shakspeare was from some association existing in his own mind." Doubtless: but the writer considers that "it is not too much to suppose that he had been admitted in the humble guise of a player, to entertain the guests assembled in the banqueting-hall," and had thus seen and admired its beauties. I cannot regard this as anything else but a most gratuitous fancy. We are indebted to Mr. Hunter, in his interesting Illustrations of the Life, Studies, and Writings of Shakspeare,

* Act I. scene 2. † Act I. scene 3. ‡ Act III. scene 1.

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for the knowledge of the fact that, by an assessment of the date of October 1, 1598, the 40th of Elizabeth, Shakspeare is proved to have been an inhabitant of the parish of St. Helen's. He is assessed in the sum of *5l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, not an inconsiderable sum in those days. Distinguished by the special favour of Queen Elizabeth and her successor, and the personal friend of such men as Southampton, Pembroke, and Montgomery, the "star of poets" was often, I would hope, a welcome visitor at Crosby Place, and looked up at those graceful timbers and that elegant oriel from an honoured seat at the high table. The lady who tenanted the house during some of the best known years of Shakspeare's life was the Dowager Countess of Pembroke, "Sydney's sister, Pembroke's mother," immortalised by rare Ben Jonson: and it is not too much to say that "gentle" Will found himself here not unfrequently, and ever as a caressed and honoured guest. We will suppose, therefore, and the supposition is a much pleasanter one than that quoted above, that, as locality is powerful in its effects on a poet's mind, we may owe to this, or the reminiscences connected with it—the friends whose society was here enjoyed, and the virtues and graces which were here witnessed—outpourings such as the following, which no true Englishman can read without burning heart and faltering tongue:—

> This royal throne of kings, this scepter'd isle,
> This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars,
> This other Eden, demi-paradise;
> This fortress, built by nature for herself,
> Against infection, and the hand of war;
> This happy breed of men, this little world,
> This precious stone set in the silver sea,
> This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England,
> This land of such dear souls, this dear dear land;
> England, bound in with the triumphant sea,
> Whose rocky shore beats back the envious siege
> Of watery Neptune.*
> This England never did, nor never shall,
> Lie at the proud foot of a conqueror,
> But when it first did help to wound itself.

* King Richard II. Act II. scene 1.

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> Come the three corners of the world in arms,
> And we shall shock them. Nought shall make us rue,
> If England to itself do rest but true!*

This, I am aware, is a digression; but you have already accorded to me your forgiveness of it. We will now proceed to the immediate subject of our review.

King Richard III. left Crosby Place for Westminster on the 27th of June, 1483. Who first occupied the house when he vacated it for a throne I know not; but in 1501 Sir Bartholomew Reed was its tenant, to whom it was assigned by the representative of Sir John Crosbie's surviving executor. Here it was that he spent his mayoralty in 1502, which was one of the most brilliant on record. It is said that he entertained the Princess Katharine of Arragon two days before her marriage with the youthful Arthur, the eldest son of Henry VII. He also received here the Ambassadors of Maximilian, Emperor of Germany, when they came on a visit of condolence upon the death of that prince.

Reed was succeeded by another city magnate, Sir John Best, Alderman of London, and Lord Mayor in 1516.

And now another name is to be given as an owner of this hall, sufficient of itself to invest the place with an undying interest. Between the date last mentioned and 1523, the house passed by purchase from Sir John Best to Sir Thomas More, Under Treasurer of England, and afterwards the Lord High Chancellor. During several of those years this magnificent apartment was the scene, doubtless, of many of those homely but profoundly sagacious jests, of those calm and philosophical conversations, and of that deeply reverential piety, which made his society the delight of all who were admitted to it, and the talk and admiration of continental Europe. I have not time, nor do you need me, to quote from Erasmus, Cochlæus, and others, their estimate of his unequalled excellence, and the fulness of affectionate regret with which they recapitulated his noble traits, when the brutal hand of a sacrilegious tyrant had done its worst to remove their loveliness from the world.

On the 20th of January, 1523, Sir Thomas sold his interest in

* King John, Act V. scene 5.

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what is described in the deed as the "great tenement called Crosbie's Place" to his friend Antonio Bonvisi, a merchant of Lucca. This was the gentleman to whom, twelve years afterwards, he wrote with a piece of charcoal from his prison in the Tower the affecting letter published in Roper's Life of his great father-in-law. He continued to reside here until 1547.

In the meanwhile, however, the freehold changed hands. It was given up to the Crown, according to Howell, on the 25th of November, the 30th of Henry VIII., 1538, by what was called "a free and voluntary surrender," though in what the freedom and voluntaryness consisted we are not informed. It was a characteristic of the times that the weak were pillaged, while the strong were respected. The leases, therefore, which had been granted by the dissolved monasteries to powerful laymen were in general confirmed to them, as it would not have done to alienate the nobility and gentry from the new order of things attempted to be established. Such was the case in the present instance. The prioress of St. Helen's was despoiled of her freehold, but the merchant Bonvisi was confirmed in his lease!

The freehold itself was afterwards sold to him by the king; for on the 28th of August, 1542, Sir Edward Northe, Knt., treasurer, had received of the said Antonio 207*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.* sterling for sundry edifices and lands, &c., including "one tenement or messuage called Crosbow's Place, lying and being in the parish of St. Ellen's in London;" and "for divers other houses, messuages, &c., in the parish of St. Ellen, and the parish of St. Mary Axe, in London, late parcel of the possessions of the said late priory of St. Ellen's." In the deed of conveyance the premises are described, a fact which makes the importance of the document considerable. It mentions first the great messuage or tenement commonly called Crosbie Place, together with a certain venell or lane from the east of the said tenement to the corner of the south end of a little lane, going in a northern direction to the Priory Close. It then enumerates nine messuages adjoining and situate in the parish of St. Helen's, belonging to the same property, and formerly held of the priory by Sir John Crosbie.

On the 1st of April, 1547, Antonio Bonvisi leased the house to

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William Rooper and William Rastell, the former the husband of Margaret daughter of Sir Thomas More, and the author of the well-known memoir of his great relative, portions of which may rank among the most exquisite compositions in our language; the latter probably Sir Thomas's printer, and a near connection of John Rastell, his brother-in-law, a well-known writer of moralities. All three soon after left England, for causes which it is not difficult to divine, and "went and departed into the parts beyond sea, without licence, and against the force, form, and effect of a statute and certain proclamation in that behalf made, published, and proclaimed." Hereupon their estates became forfeited, and were granted by the king, in 1550, to Sir Thomas Darcye, Lord Darcye. In the first year of his successor the absentees returned, and for "divers good causes and considerations" were restored by Lord Darcye to their former estates.

From Bonvisi the property descended, almost immediately after he had again obtained possession of it, to Peter Crowle, and from him to Germayne Cyoll, who was named in Bonvisi's will as second in succession after Crowle, and Cycylie his wife, who was the daughter of Sir John Gresham, Knight, and cousin of Sir Thomas Gresham, the founder of the Royal Exchange, whose house was in Bishopsgate Street, opposite to Crosby Place. Cyoll entered upon his residence in 1560, and continued here till 1566. On the 15th of May in that year the house was purchased for 1,500*l.* by William Bonde, alderman of London. During his occupation it underwent considerable repair and received some additions. He is said to have increased the height of the house by building a turret on the roof. His improvements, however, were introduced into those portions of the edifice which have long since been swept away.

On the death of Bonde, in 1576, Crosby Place descended to his sons, William, Nicholas, and Martyn; and William and his mother continued, it is said, to reside here. Some years subsequent to this it was appropriated to the reception of various foreign ambassadors. Among these are mentioned Henry Ramelius, Chancellor of Denmark, and ambassador from Frederick the Second, King of Denmark, to Queen Elizabeth. And from an

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entry in the register of St. Helen's, united to the testimony of Stowe, we learn that a French ambassador was lodged here, whose secretary, Nicholas Fylio, was buried in St. Helen's, September 23, 1592.

From William and Martyn, the sons of Alderman Bonde, Crosby Place was purchased in 1594 by Sir John Spencer, Knt., for 2,560*l.* According to Stowe he made "great reparation." He kept his mayoralty here in 1594, and among the gaieties of the year was the performance of a masque by the gentlemen students of Gray's Inn and the Temple, for the special delectation and in the august presence of their liege lady Queen Elizabeth. What the masque was, or how her Majesty testified her royal pleasure at the same, I am sorry that I have no means of informing you.

During his term of occupation Sir John Spencer added considerably to the premises, especially by the erection of a "most large warehouse builded neare thereunto." At the same period various eminent strangers "with their retinues, which were very splendid, were there harboured." Among these, there was, in 1603, M. de Rosney, Great Treasurer of France, more commonly known as the Duc de Sully. It is also stated to have been the temporary residence of Henry Frederick, youngest son of William Prince of Orange, and of some Ambassadors from Holland.

On the death of Sir John, in 1609, the house descended to the Right Hon. Sir William Compton, Knt., Lord Compton, and afterwards Earl of Northampton, who had married Elizabeth, daughter and sole heiress of the deceased. Whether he resided here is doubtful, as in a lease made in the year 1615, in which the place is let for the term of twenty-one years to William Russell at a rent of 200*l.* per annum, it is stated that the "capital messuage or mansion-house, called Crosbye House," was "then or late in the tenure of the dowager Countess of Pembroke," the lady to whom I have already referred.

From Lord Northampton, who died June 14, 1630, Crosby Place descended to his son Spencer, who appears to have resided here for a brief period. The mansion was soon destined to witness a gloomy change from the scenes which it had hitherto presented.

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Evil days were coming upon the land, and an execrable faction threw its baleful shade upon many a home where hitherto little or no shade had fallen. The gallant owner of that which has received us this evening was one of the stoutest supporters of the royal cause, and one of the first to fall in defence of his sovereign. He died the death of a hero at Hopton Heath, March 19, 1642. Two years before this, in June 1640, the house was leased to Sir John Langham, Knt. and sheriff in 1642, for ninety-nine years. During some years of his tenancy (though we may charitably hope without his concurrence) Crosby Place, like many another ancient house, became not the receiver of the monarch for its honoured guest, but the jail of that monarch's loyal servants. Under the term of Malignants, among whom in the language of the day were placed all who continued steadfast to the government of their country in Church and State, many eminent men among the clergy and laity found in the rooms of this house a prison and a prison's severities.* At length, after the murder of the king, and the complete subversion of the ancient régime, when no further fears were entertained that loyalty would get the better of treason, Crosby Place was relieved of the degrading use to which it had been applied. It was soon, however, to meet with another hardly less incongruous.

Sir Stephen, the son of Sir John Langham, succeeded his father in his tenancy previous to the year 1674. In 1672, the Great Hall, whose history sinks lower and lower, was converted into a Presbyterian meeting-house. Though spared by the Fire of London, which, however, extended its ravages to the immediate neighbourhood, the house suffered a similar catastrophe in or about the year 1676. The greater portion was destroyed by an accidental fire, and from that period it ceased to be a mansion. What remains, therefore, to be spoken refers to the Great Hall and two adjoining chambers. To complete the enumeration of the owners, it should be stated that the fee-simple remained in the hands of the Northampton family till 1678, when it passed to the Cranfields, and with them till 1692, when it was sold to the Freemans, with whom it still remains. The lease of the pre-

* See Journal of Commons, 1642, vol. ii. pp. 828, 894, &c. &c.

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mises passed from Sir Stephen Langham to William Freeman, and under him first to Granado Chester, a grocer, and subsequently to Thomas Goodinge: and in 1677 the houses called Crosby Square were erected upon the site of those destroyed by the fire previously mentioned.

In 1678 the Great Hall was occupied in the following manner:—The ground floor was a warehouse in the occupation of Chester. On a level with the Minstrels' Gallery a floor was inserted, on which assembled the Presbyterian congregation already noticed. A frightful staircase, ascending on the outside of the building, led to this floor, through an entrance made in the second story of the oriel! Either at the same time or shortly afterwards a second floor was added just below the springing of the roof, and was probably used for the reception of foreign products. For at this period the two rooms just referred to as escaping the fire, called the Withdrawing Room and Throne Room above it, were held, at 160*l.* per annum, by the "Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies" for warehousing and other purposes.

The Presbyterian congregation occupied their portion of the Hall till 1769, when it was taken by a Dissenting minister named James Relly, who was said to see visions, and upon the strength of these founded a sect called Rellyans, or Rellites, or Rellyanists, or Rellyan Universalists. This *capriccio* ended with the life of the inventor, which terminated in 1778. Soon after the departure of the last Dissenting congregation the entire fabric was taken on lease under the Freemans by Messrs. Holmes and Hall, packers; and, in order to adapt it to the requirements of their business, many horrible mutilations were perpetrated. In this state it continued till the year 1831, when, on the expiration of those gentlemen's term, the premises were actually advertised to be let on a building lease,—in other words, to be pulled down and their place to be supplied by a new structure.

This was the overflowing drop in the bitter cup: and it is our happiness to record the gratifying fact that from that hour the fortunes of the spot have taken a different direction. Even, however, during the last hundred years of its varied history it was not forgotten by the historian, the antiquary, and the artist, but

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was oftentimes reverently visited, and its degradation was feelingly deplored. At length the time arrived when some effort was to be made for its restoration and future safeguard. A few gentlemen, principally of the neighbouring families, met together and determined to appeal to the public in behalf of a structure, which, as they properly considered, was a national treasure, and possessed an imperishable interest for the country at large. A meeting was subsequently held at the London Tavern, on Tuesday the 8th of May, 1831, the Alderman of the ward in the chair, and the work of careful and judicious restoration was shortly afterwards commenced. "On the eve of demolition," says Mr. Kempe,* "threatened on all sides, like many other venerable foundations, to be swept away by the spring-tide of reformation and improvement, or at least of the devastating principle so called, Crosby Hall has been fortunate enough to find in an intelligent literary lady [Miss Hackett], its near neighbour, and in various other public-spirited individuals, a timely and energetic protection." The first stone of the new works was laid June 27, 1836, and the Hall was re-opened, as a literary and scientific institution, July 27, 1842.

On the history of Crosby Place I have but one word more to say. It is now the honoured centre of the Metropolitan Evening Classes; and in this magnificent apartment the weekly lectures during term are delivered by various professional and other gentlemen, among whom I am happy to include myself. The audience, though not so learned a one as that which I have now the honour to address, is nevertheless a very intelligent and truly interesting assemblage; and I feel certain that I shall gratify you by the information that the institution is doing well, and likely, we hope, to do better.

I have occupied so much of your time with its history, that I must curtail the architectural description of the edifice to a greater extent than I could have wished. That, however, is a matter of less importance, as many of you will be able to detect at a glance the grand features of the style, and the accompanying engravings will assist others. The portions of the house which

* Gentleman's Magazine, June, 1832, p. 507.

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remain to the present day are, you will recollect, the Great Hall and a building of two stories, situate at right angles to it on the north-west corner, and thus forming with it two sides of a quadrangle, together with a number of vaults beneath these structures and some of the adjacent houses which now occupy the site of the original mansion. Every other part of that magnificent whole is gone; and I grieve to be obliged to add that, even in the memory of man, some unnecessary injury has been inflicted on the Throne Room and Council Room, by which names the apartments just referred to as adjoining the Hall are traditionally known. An oriel, in many respects similar to that in the Great Hall, has been removed to a house in Buckinghamshire; while the ceilings of both rooms have shared a similar fate, probably from their excellence and artistic beauty, and at the present moment constitute the adornments of private houses, and, in one instance, that of a gentleman's chapel in his parish church. Although such an use can by no means be considered a desecration, it is equally certain that Crosby Place has not suffered the less from so ruthless a misappropriation and so ill-directed a zeal.

It is conjectured that the entire house was composed of two quadrangles separated by the Great Hall.* This noble apartment is a parallelogram of 55 feet, or, with the Minstrels' Gallery, of 67 feet 4 inches, by 27 feet 6 inches; its height to the crown of the ceiling is 40 feet. It derives an increase of size from a large oriel, or bay window, formed by three whole and two half windows, on its western side. In addition to this oriel there are on the same western side, the only one visible from the exterior, a series of six admirably constructed windows, the elevation above them being terminated by a cornice and parapet. These windows are of the kind usually observable in domestic

* I refer those of my readers who desire to investigate this and other points connected with the original appearance of the edifice to Londina Illustrata, Malcolm's Londinium Redivivum, and the excellent manuals of Messrs. Carlos, Blackburn, and Hammon, whose valuable assistance I desire to acknowledge. The space at my command restricts me to the perhaps more useful task of describing those parts of the mansion which are still in existence.

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edifices of the fifteenth century, are furnished with a label returned square, and divided by a central mullion into two lights each. The arrangement of the two southernmost windows, which admit light into the Minstrels' Gallery, differs from that of the rest, in being divided by a mullion only. On the east side of the hall are eight windows, uniform with those just described, two of them taking the place which the oriel occupies on the opposite side. The two northernmost on both sides, being over the dais, are shorter than the others. The north and south ends of the hall are concealed on the outside by buildings, the former by the library and committee rooms recently erected. Externally, the semi-octangular oriel has on each face lights of a character similar to the other windows, but continued downwards as far as the level of the plinth. The label also of the oriel is of a similar description to that which surmounts the other windows. Small buttresses occupy the angles, the faces of which are panelled. On account of the height, each window in the oriel is divided by transoms into three stories. The transoms are ornamented with miniature battlements, and the panelling of the buttresses is repeated at every stage.

Let us now proceed to the interior. Immediately on entering, the eye is irresistibly drawn upwards by one of the most glorious timber roofs which England possesses. (See the engravings.) A cross section of this matchless piece of carpentry presents a flattened arch; the extreme length being divided into eight bays by large ribs, which rise from the pier of each window, and rest at either extremity on a richly-moulded octagonal corbel. Each of these ribs includes within its span from side to side four smaller arches, flattened in a manner similar to the arch which contains them, but distorted in order to suit its curvature. Nothing can be more graceful than these smaller arches, thus slightly differing in form, in order to accommodate themselves to the great one in which they are placed, while each drops upon octagonal pendants, very similar to the corbels which support the main ribs. From each of these pendants an arch springs longitudinally to another pendant below the next rib; so that every pendant is the centre of four arches, one on each side breadthwise, and one on each

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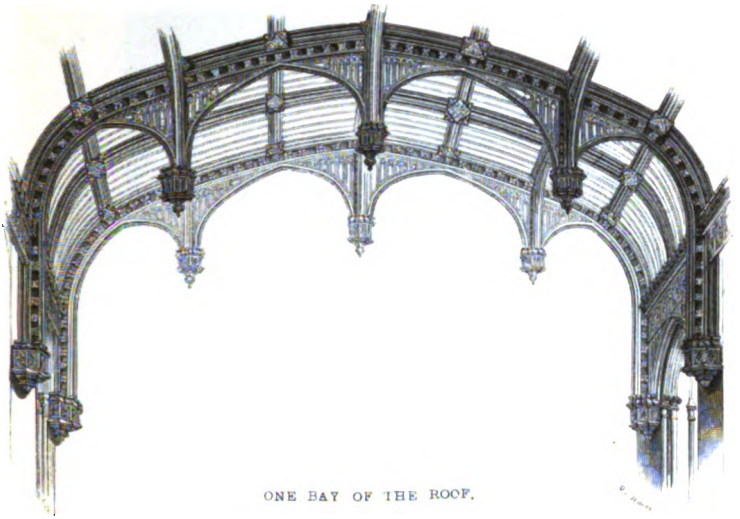
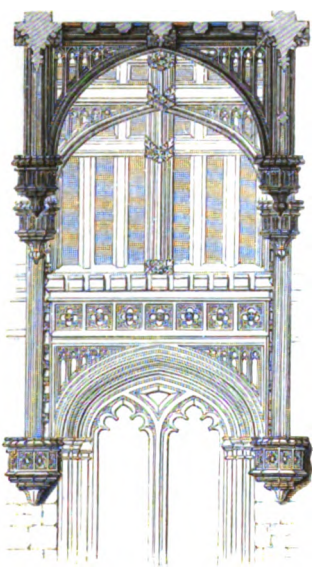


ONE BAY OF THE ROOF.



LONGITUDINAL SECTION OF ONE BAY.

ROOF OF THE GREAT HALL.

O. Jewitt, del. & sc.

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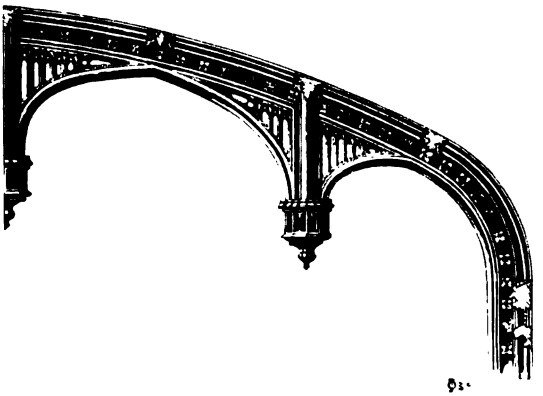
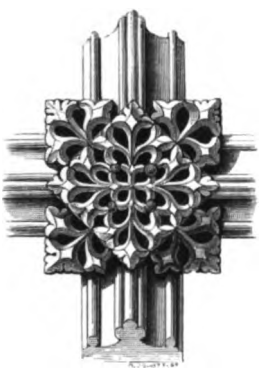
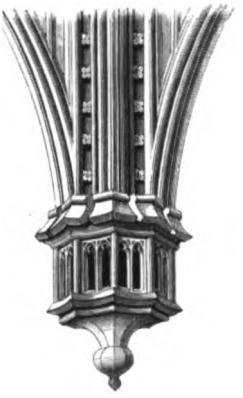


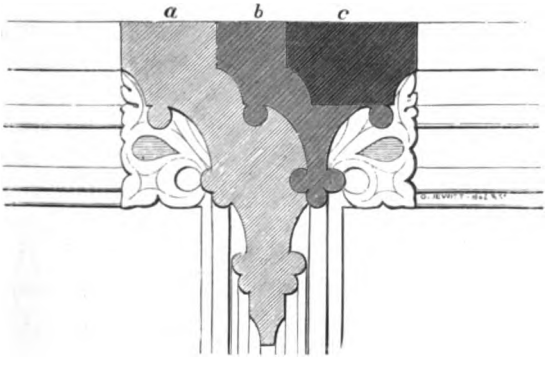
HALF OF ONE OF THE PRINCIPALS.



BOSS.



PENDANT.



SECTION OF PRINCIPAL, (*a*), PURLINS, (*b*), AND RAFTERS, (*c*).

DETAILS OF THE ROOF OF THE GREAT HALL.

O. Jewitt, *del.* & *sc.*

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side lengthwise. From end to end of the Hall, therefore, there are three parallel lines of pendants, and four parallel lines of arches. The spandrels of these hanging arches are filled with delicate perpendicular open tracery. On either side-wall, along the line from which the ceiling ascends, there is a series of panels ornamented with quatrefoils. The vault of the roof is covered with panels, ornamented with richly-moulded longitudinal and cross ribs which divide the space between each of the arches into four equal compartments; and these mouldings, together with the main ribs themselves, are decorated with a profusion of flowers and knots of foliage. In the centre of the fourth bay from the south is an hexagonal louvre, or lantern, the use of which in ancient houses was, I scarcely need add, to allow of the escape of the smoke from the fire, which was made against the reredos in the middle of the floor below. Whether the present one was ever used for this purpose is doubtful; as there existed a fireplace at the north end of the Hall, the opening of which measured 7 feet 8 inches by 5 feet 6 inches, independent of its exterior mouldings, and another is still visible on the east side. It should be added that the present differs from the generality of our timber roofs by being an inner one, and covered by another on the outside. Instead of this, the usual plan was to exhibit the actual timbers of which the external roof was composed, to which were applied ornaments and other additions, in agreement with the taste or skill of the constructor.

It has been supposed by some that the roof, as we now see it, is not complete, but that it has suffered mutilation and curtailment at one if not both ends. The restoration demonstrated that such was not the fact, from the conclusive circumstance that the extreme trusses were only half the thickness of the others, and were furnished with mouldings on the inner side only. I am indebted to Mr. Carlos for this information, which completely sets the question at rest.

The walls below the windows are perfectly plain, and composed of rubble plastered over. They were intended to be covered with tapestry.

No original entrance into the Hall now remains, except a flat-

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arched doorway communicating with the Council Chamber. The main entrance was no doubt under the Minstrels' Gallery at the south end; but this spot has long formed the passage to Crosby Square, and all vestiges of its ancient appearance have ceased to exist.

The oriel, which stands on the west side of the Hall, and towards its northern extremity, is one of the finest specimens now remaining. (See vignette, p. 35.) It rises to the entire height of the room, and is 10 feet 10 inches in width, and 8 feet 5 inches in depth from the inner line of the wall beyond which it projects. It is formed by five sides of an octagon, at the angles of which are clustered shafts which rise from octagonal plinths. From the capitals of these delicate shafts spring ribs, which diverge and form the groining of a richly-ornamented stone ceiling. At the numerous points where the ramifications intersect each other are bosses of foliage, that in the centre larger than any of the rest, and bearing in high relief the crest of Sir John Crosbie—a ram trippant argent, armed and hoofed or. I scarcely need add that the ancient glass with which the oriel was furnished, and which no doubt was magnificent, has entirely perished.

I have nothing to communicate with regard to the interiors of the Council Chamber and Throne Room over it, which, you will recollect, constitute, together with the Hall and some vaults to be noticed presently, the sole remaining portions of the original structure. An external doorway, small and flat-arched, occupies the angle between the Hall and Council Chamber. Before the late restorations the height of this building was divided into three stories, but the previous division into two floors is again introduced. They are noble rooms; but the appearance which they now present is entirely the effect of modern renovation.

There only remain to be described the numerous vaults just referred to, which are chiefly possessed of interest as marking the site of a portion at least of the original edifice. They extend over a large surface, and are used as cellars by the occupiers of several of the neighbouring houses. For the most part they are ceiled with elliptical brick arches plastered over. One however, 35 feet by 16, situated at the south-west of the Great Hall, and to which are attached the remains of a staircase that led to the apartments

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above, is of a richer character. It formed the substructure of a building, which, together with the Hall and the Council Chamber, formed three sides of one of the quadrangles of which the house was composed, and differs from the others by being vaulted in chalk with ribs of stone. And a conjecture has been advanced, from its higher degree of ornamentation, that the building which surmounted it was the domestic chapel.

Our survey of this noble mansion—the first of a series in illustration of old London and Middlesex domestic edifices—is now as complete as the space at my disposal will allow. We have traced its history from the ancestral days of its worshipful founder, through times of wealth, hospitality, and splendour, as well as of degradation and reckless injury, to its present period of comparative restoration. We have glanced at the noble array, solemnly passing in imagination before us, of worthies who successively owned or tenanted the place. And we have technically examined such of its architectural glories as time and vandalism have been prevailed upon to spare. You will not, I trust, have considered the time wasted which has been devoted to such an object. For in the midst of destruction so sweeping and wholesale, we may indeed congratulate ourselves on this happy conservation of the finest parts of a building associated in such close intimacy with what we love best in secular literature, and admire most in constructive art. We may indeed be thankful that, among all the changes so conspicuous around us, we have yet accorded to us the possession of a scene which can recal such memories as those in which we have been luxuriating, and which can make us live in spirit with so many of the great and good who have passed away from the eye of sense. An edifice well deserves our reverence and regard, whose venerable walls, solemn chambers, and diversified history can reveal beauties, suggest associations, and elicit remembrances, at once so fair, so national, and so grandly great.

[The Council have the pleasure of very thankfully acknowledging the liberality of their noble President, Lord Londesborough, in presenting the engravings which accompany the foregoing Paper, as well as that which occupies the following page.]

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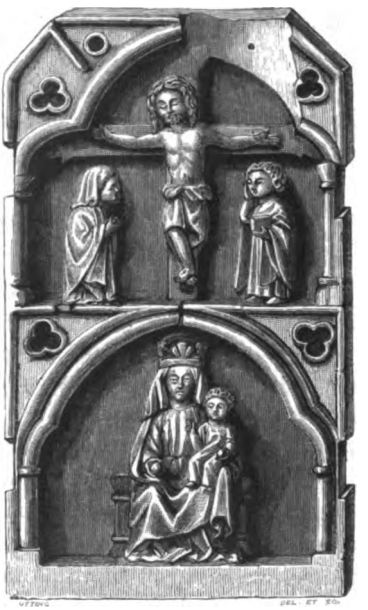

Central portion, actual size, of an Ivory Triptych, of the XIVth Century, found in Haydon Square, Minories, on the site of the Abbey of the Nuns Minoresses, 12th Sept. 1853.

In the possession of the Rev. Thomas Hugo.

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NOTICES OF ST. HELEN'S, BISHOPSGATE,

AND ESPECIALLY OF THE EMINENT PERSONS WHO LIE THERE INTERRED.

BY THOMAS LOTT, ESQ. F.S.A.

[Read in Crosby Hall, January 28, 1856.]

WITH regard to the Church of St. Helen's, it is not my intention in the present paper to attempt any description of the building itself, which has already been so well described in the various histories of London that the task on my part would be needless. My friend, the vestry clerk of St. Helen's, William Jones, Esq. of Crosby Square, having, however, kindly lent me some interesting MSS. purchased by him several years since of the son of the late Mr. Olding, respecting the Church, I have thought that a few extracts from them would not be out of place on the present occasion:—

"St. Helen, to whom the Priory and Church were dedicated by Constantine Chlorus, governor of the Britons and Romans, was mother of Constantine the Great, the first Christian Emperor of Rome. She was the daughter of Coel, Prince of the Britons, and born at Colchester, in Essex, according to the British Chronicles; but some Greek writers, among whom is Nicephorus, relate that she was born at Dupranum, in Bythinia, being the daughter of an host in that city, who brought her to Constantius, then happening to be there in his passage as Ambassador in Persia. He became enamoured of her on account of her beauty and comeliness, and had a child by her, who was named Constantine. Cardinal Baronius, however, disputes this story, and avers that she was a Briton, and was Constantius's lawful wife.

"This is the same Helen who in ancient writings is named Piissima et Venerabilis Augusta. She went to Jerusalem, and there discovered the Cross on which Christ was crucified. She left Quirinus as Bishop of Jerusalem, and afterwards returned to Rome, where she died, and was buried about the year of our Lord 326, aged 80 years. She was afterwards translated by her son Constantine from Rome to Constantinople, and from thence,

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as Peter de Natalibus writes, into Venice, where he says her body was buried in a monastery dedicated to her name; but other writers say her body was translated to Rheims, where her translation is celebrated yearly on the 7th February: at Rome her festival is kept on the 12th of August.

"In her native country of Great Britain she left some memorials of herself, for she built the walls of London and Colchester, and erected also a church at Bedford, which was turned into a monastery, but was destroyed by the Danes about the year 868."

The MSS. next detail the preternatural appearance to the Emperor Constantine which occasioned his embracing Christianity, which has been so often narrated by the historian that it is hardly necessary to repeat it here.

In reference to the various grants of the living, it appears that it was at one time leased out by the "virgin Queen" to Nicholas Oseley in lieu of a pension, "because he, while in Spain, gave the English Court the first intelligence of the fitting out of the Spanish Armada. It was subsequently sold to Michael Stanhope, one of the grooms of the Privy Chamber, and Edward Stanhope, LL.D. and one of the Masters of the Court of Chancery, reserving 20*l.* per annum out of the Rectory for a salary for a sufficient preacher of God's Word, to be allowed out of the tythes.

"The parish has amongst its records a copy of the Queen's sale to the Stanhopes, dated the 13th September, 1599 (41 Elizabeth)."

The MSS. next present us with the following Survey which was made three years after the dissolution of the priory:—

"The late priorye of St. Elenes within the citye of London, and the view and survey ther takin the xxj. daye of June, in the xxxiij. yeare of the raigne of our soveraigne lord Kinge Henrye the viij., by Thomas Mildmay, one of the king's auditors thereunto assigned: that is to saye,—

"The parishe of Sainte Elenes within the citye of London, and the scite of the late priorye therein:

"Firste, the cheaf entre or cominge into the same late priorye ys in and by the street gate lying in the parishe of St. Elenes in Bishopsgate Streat, which leadeth to a little cowrte next adjoyn-

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ing to the same gate, havinge chambers, howses, and buyldinges, environinge the same, out of wch cowrte there is an entre leadinge to an inner cowrte, wch on the north side is also likewise environed with edificyons and buyldings called the stewardes lodging, with a countinge house apperteninge to the same. Item, next to the same cowrte ther is a faire kitchinge, withe a pastery house, larder houses, and other howses of office apperteninge to the same, and at the est ende of the same kechyn and entre leadinge to the same hall, wth a little parlor adjoyning, having under the same hall and parlor sundrie howses of office next adjoyning to the cloyster ther, and one howse called the covent parlor. Item, iij. fair chambers adjoyninge to the hall, whearof the one over the entree leadinge to the cloyster, the other over the buttree, and the third over the larder. Item, from the said entre by the hall to the cloyster, wch cloyster yet remaineth holly leaded, and at the north side of the same cloyster a faire long howse called the Fratree. Item, at the est end of the same cloysters a lodginge called the suppryor's lodging, wth a little gardin lieing to the same. And by the same lodginge a pare of staires leading to the dortor, at the south end whearof ther is a little howse wherein the evidences of the said howse nowe doe remayne, wth all howses and lodginges under the same dortor. Item, at the west ende of the same cloysters a dore leadinge into the nunnes late quire, extending from the dore out of the church yarde unto the lampe or perticyon dividin the priorye from the parishe, wch is holly leaded. Item, at the est end of the said cloyster an entre leading to a little garden, and out of the same littell garden to a faire garden called the covent garden, conteninge by estimac'on half an acre. And at the north ende of the said garden a dore leading to another garden called the kechin garden, and at the west ende of the same ther is a dove-howse, and in the same garden a dore to a faire wood-yerd, with howses, partic'ons, and gardens, within the same wood-yerd. A tenement wth a garden, a stable, and other thappurtenances to the same belonginge, called Elizabeth Hawte's lodginge. All which premises ben rated, extendyd, and valued, the king's highnesse to be discharged of the reparac'ons, of the yerely value of vjl. xiij s. iiij d.

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"Item, one tenement therein, in the hold of Willm Baker, by the yeare, xxs.

"Item, one other tenement, in the hold of Jane Julian, by the yeare, xiijs. iiijd.

"Item, one other tenement ther, in the hold of Edmunde Brewer, by the yeare, xiijs. iiijd.

"Item, one other tenement ther, in the hold of Eye Sturdye, by the yeare, xiijs. iiijd.

"Item, one other tenement ther, in the hold of Lanclott Harryson, by the yeare, xiijs. iiijd.

"Summa viijl. xiijs. iiijd.

"Ex^m p' Thomam Mildmaie, Auditor."

"The nuns' hall and other houses thereunto appertaining were purchased by the Leathersellers' Company, who converted the former into a common hall for holding their meetings and transacting their business; and so it continued until it was demolished, with the other remnants of the priory, in 1799, to make way for the foundations of the present St. Helen's Place."

The MSS. then give a description of the church, as contained in the histories of London; the inscriptions (with their translations) upon all the tombs, both within and without the church; and lastly, short histories of the most eminent characters there buried, which appear to be in some instances original compositions, and in other cases compilations from accounts given by various historians.

The histories alluded to are those of Francis Adam, mayor in 1353; Richard Ball, vicar, 1602; Francis Bancroft; Arthur Barham, vicar, 1651; Thomas Benolte, Clarenceux; Edward Berewood, d. 1613; Dr. Burdett; the Cæsar or Adelmare family; Sir John Crosby; Sir John Eyles, mayor 1688; Dr. Daniel Featley, d. 1643; Dr. Jon. Goddard, d. 1674; Sir Thomas Gresham; Sir William Hollis, mayor 1539; Dr. Robert Hooke, d. 1702; Dr. Thomas Horton, vicar, 1666; Sir Andrew Judd, mayor 1550; Sir John Lawrance, mayor 1665; Sir Martin Lumley, d. 1634; Thomas Mildmay, 1540; Dr. Peter Mounsell, d. 1615; Sir William Pickering, the favourite of Q. Elizabeth; Sir William Seyntlow; Sir John Spencer, mayor 1594; Spencer

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Compton, second Earl of Northampton, killed 1643; Sir Samuel Stanier, mayor 1713; and Richard Williams, great-grandfather of Oliver Cromwell, who died in 1546.

A few of the more interesting of these now follow in the order which they occupy in the MSS.

"Francis Bancroft was grandson of Archbishop Bancroft and carver to the Lord Mayor. He carved out for himself a fortune of 28,000*l.* by exactions from his fellow-citizens. Pursuant to the directions in his will he was embowelled and embalmed in a box lined with lead, made with a lid to fall down with a pair of hinges without any fastening; his heart is contained in a square box lined with lead and soldered up, and stands in the south-east corner of the tomb. The monument has a door at the west end, which used to be opened on certain occasions for the body to be seen. By his will, which is set out in extenso in the MSS., he left the bulk of his property to the Drapers' Company for the building and endowing of almshouses."

Arthur Barham, presented to this living by Sir John Langhorn, was ejected in 1662. Upon the Indulgence, in 1672, he took out a licence, preached in his own home twice on every Sunday, catechised in the afternoon, and expounded Scripture in the evening. On the King's declaration being recalled, his goods were seized, and he was fined. He was one of the sixty ministers who subscribed to a writing drawn up and presented to the Lord-General, declaring their abhorrence of all violence against the person of the King, and urging him and his army to have no concern in it.

"Thomas Benolte, Clarenceux King-at-Arms, made proclamation of war in Spain against Charles V. In 1516 he was sent to Scotland to confirm the truce for one year. It is stated he was placed there as a spy upon the conduct of the Regent Albany. Henry sent him in 1519 to the Courts of France, Burgundy, Germany, and Italy, to proclaim the jousts intended to be solemnised by the Kings of England and France between Ardres and Guisnes, which he attended in 1520. In 1522 he again was sent to Scotland to denounce Albany. In 1526 he was sent to Spain to demand half the ransom which the Emperor Charles V. had

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received for setting Francis I. at liberty, whom the Spanish General had taken prisoner at the Battle of Pavia, and to demand that one of the two sons of that monarch pledged as hostages for the payment should be sent to England.

"In the following year he went to Burgos to defy the Emperor Charles V. He and another herald entered his presence bareheaded, with tabards hanging upon their right arms, when Clarenceaux defied His Majesty in the names of his royal master by sea and land, and delivered him the lie in writing, and, having received the Emperor's answer to the alleged provocation of having arrested and detained the Pope and the sacred Colledge of Cardinals, took his tabard, and put it on his body. He was deservedly a favourite with King Henry VIII., who bestowed many offices upon him.

"He died in 1534, and was buried in the Church of St. Helen's, under the effigies of himself and his two wives.

"In the Harleian Collection is his effigies as Clarenceux, taken from his tomb.

"In the partition fees is 10*l.* at St. George's Day, 1534. Mr. Clarenceux, Thomas Benolte, absent, seke, and dyed the 8th of Maie next ensuinge, on whose soul God have mercie."

Sir Julius Cæsar, Knight, D.C.L. was buried in this church, and the MS. contains a very interesting biography of him, which cannot be successfully condensed in this paper. He was born in 1557. In 1583 he was nominated "Counseller to the City of London," an office which, if ever attached to our civil judicature, no longer exists. He was a Master in Chancery, Master of Requests, Master of St. Katharine's; entertained the Queen at his house at Mitcham in 1598, at an expense of 700*l.*; was knighted by King James in 1603, and appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer, and in 1614 Master of the Rolls; died in 1636, and was buried in the chancel of St. Helen's, where his monument, with its curious device (representing a deed, the string that connected the seal to it is breaking, to denote that the obligation of mortality was nearly discharged,) and the inscription were designed and written by himself.

Of Mr. Robert Cæsar, his son, and Sir Thomas Cæsar,

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brother of Sir Julius, very interesting memoirs appear in these MSS.

Sir Charles Cæsar, Knight, third son of Sir Julius, was also Master of the Rolls; he was buried at Bennington, Herts.

Dr. Daniel Featley (born Fairclough) domestic chaplain to Dr. Abbott, Archbishop of Canterbury; by him was preferred to rectory of Lambeth. "In 1617 he proceeded in divinity, and puzzled Prideaux, the King's Professor, so much with his learned arguments, that a quarrel being thereupon raised the Archbishop was in a manner forced to compose it for his chaplain's sake. The Archbishop of Spalato, being also present at the disputation, was so taken with Dr. Featley's arguments that he forthwith gave him a brother's place in the Savoy Hospital, near London, he being the master thereof. On Sept. 15, 1623, he married an ancient grave gentlewoman, called Mrs. Joyce Halloway, who lived in a house of her own at Kennington, and, being fond of flowers, had a beautiful garden, in which she took great delight.

"In 1642, after the King had encountered the Parliament soldiers at Brentford, some of the rebels took up their quarters at Acton, of which Dr. Featley was then rector; and, after they had missed the Doctor, whom they took to be a Papist, drank and eat his provisions, burnt down his barn full of corn, and profaned his church. On 30th September following, being judged to be a spy and betrayer of the Parliament cause, he was committed prisoner to Lord Petre's house, in Aldersgate Street, and his rectories taken away. On his release he went to Chelsea College, of which he was Provost, where he died in 1645."

Dr. Goddard, physician to Cromwell, Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and Professor of Physic in Gresham College, who died in 1674, was buried here.

The monument of the celebrated Sir Thomas Gresham deserves attention on the visit to the Church. The memoir of him comprises the history of the Royal Exchange, and other matters of great civic interest.

Dr. Robert Hooke, a Professor of Gresham College, and celebrated for his plans for rebuilding London, died in the College in 1702, and was buried in St. Helen's Church.

Dr. Thomas Norton, also a Professor, and who succeeded in

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retaining the office in spite of his marriage (at that time an obstacle), was buried here 1673, under the communion table.

Sir Andrew Judd, Lord Mayor in 1550, greatly in favour with their Majesties Philip and Mary for his spirited and patriotic conduct during Wyatt's rebellion, died 4th September, 1558, and was buried in St. Helen's Church with great pomp. He was founder of a school at Tonbridge, and of almshouses in London.

Sir John Lawrance, Alderman, celebrated for a splendid banquet given by him to their Majesties, and for his judicious conduct during the visitation of the Plague, which took place in his mayoralty. He did not desert the City at this time, but continued at his residence in St. Helen's; enforced the wisest regulations then known respecting the prevention of the pestilent contagion, and saw them executed himself. He supported on this occasion 40,000 discharged servants.

> London's generous Mayor,
> Who, when contagion with mephitic breath,
> And withered famine urged the work of death,
> With food and faith, with medicine and prayer,
> Raised the weak head, and stayed the parting sigh,
> Or with new life relumed the swimming eye.—*Darwin.*

The monument of Sir William Pickering is worthy of attention. In 1551 he was employed as Ambassador, with the Marquis of Northampton, to the King of France, to propose the marriage of Edward with the Princess Elizabeth.

Of this gentleman, says the MS., quoting the character in Lloyd's State Worthies, "His extraction was not noble, his estate but mean, yet was his person so comely, his carriage so excellent, his life so greatly reserved and studious, and his embassies in France and Germany so well managed, that in King Edward's days he was by the Council pitched upon as the oracle whereby our agents were to be guided abroad, and in Queen Elizabeth's designed by common vote for the Prince by whom we were to be governed at home. He received extraordinary favours, no doubt, so deserving he was: he was wished to more, he was so popular; and, when his service was admitted to Her Majestie's bosome, all fancies but his own gave him her hand."

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"Sir John Spencer, Lord Mayor 1594, was called 'rich Spencer,' and died worth 800,000*l.*, according to the value of property in the year 1609. The year of his mayoralty was a year of famine, and at his persuasion the City companies bought a quantity of corn in foreign parts, and laid the same up at the Bridge House for the use of the people. A pirate of Dunkirk, in Queen Elizabeth's time, laid a plot, with twelve of his mates, to carry him away: he came over with them in a shallop, and they hid themselves at Islington, where Sir John had a country house; but he kept in London that night, and their plan was frustrated.

"His daughter married Lord Compton, afterwards Earl of Northampton. The lady eloped with her noble suitor, she being by his contrivance taken away from her father's house in a baker's basket. Sir John was so incensed by this act that he totally discarded her, until a reconciliation took place by the interposition of Queen Elizabeth. To effect it a little stratagem was resorted to. When Lady Compton's child was born, the Queen requested that Sir John would with her stand sponsor to the first offspring of a young couple happy in their love, but discarded by their father. The Knight readily consented, and Her Majesty dictated his own surname for the Christian name of the child. The ceremony being performed, Sir John assured the Queen that, having discarded his own daughter, he would adopt the boy as his son. The parents of the child being now introduced, the Knight, to his great surprise, discovered that he had adopted his own grandson, who ultimately succeeded his father in his honours, and his grandfather in his wealth. From him sprang the present noble family, which owes its immense possessions at Canonbury to the industry of a citizen of London."

I subjoin the following extracts from the Vestry Minutes and Parish Accounts:—

"2nd October, 1558.

"Item, if anye p'ish'oner of the saide p'she be duly warned by the churchwarden to come to anye vestrye to be kepte by the saide p'ishioners, and do make defaulte, that then he or they having no good or lawful excuse shall forfeit for any suche default the som of j. (*sic*) to the use of the parishe.

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"28 October, 1562.

"That the company of *laborers* shall contynue their resort to this p'sh church yerely on Trynnity Sondaie as heretofore and they have done, payinge to the p'sh church yerely 2*s.* 4*d.* to the churchwardens for the tyme beinge.

"5 March, 1564.

"Item, that none shall be buryd within the church unles the dead corps be coffined in wood.*

"xiij. January, A° Domini 1565.

"At a vestrie holden the said daie and yere, it is ordered and agreade by the whole assent of the parishioners here present, that the residue of oure roode lofte yet standinge at this daie shall be taken downe accordinge to the forme of a certain writinge made and subscribed by M^r. Mollyns, Archdeacon of London, by the commandement of my Lord Bishoppe of London and others the Queen's Majesty's Commissioners. And further, that the place where the same doeth stande shall be comelie and devoutlie made and garnished againe like to Sainte Magnus Church or S^t. Dunstain in the East, as the discretion of the churchwardens shall seem good.

"xi. of April, 1576.

"It is also agreed that the organes and the scaffolds they stande on shall be taken downe.

Parish Accounts.

		s.	*d.*
"1575.	Received of Sir Thomas Gresham, Knt., for his licence to eat flesh	6	8
"1609.	Paid for 6 gallons and 3 quarts of clarett wyne, at 2*s.* 4*d.* the gallon and 2*d.* the roundlet.		
"1643.	Paid for taking down the cross on the belfrye .	1	6
,,	Paid for writing the names of those who took not the covenant and carrying it to Westminster	3	0
"1668.	The two churchwardens were excommunicated for not carrying in their presentment: it cost them 17*s.* 6*d.* to be absolved."		

* This is the first sanitary minute with which I am acquainted.

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THE MONUMENTAL BRASSES OF LONDON AND MIDDLESEX.*

PART I.

A Notice of the Monumental Brasses to Alianore de Bohun, Duchess of Gloucester, A.D. 1399, in Westminster Abbey; and to Joice, Lady Tiptoft, A.D. 1446, in Enfield Church: also of a Fragment of a Cross-Brass of the Thirteenth Century in the Chapel of Edward the Confessor in Westminster Abbey.

BY THE REV. CHARLES BOUTELL, M.A.

[Read, in part, at Crosby Hall, January 28, 1856.]

Spandrel Ornaments: Canopy of the Brass to Alianore de Bohun.

In selecting these Brasses to form the subject of the present memoir, I have been influenced by a two-fold motive. In the first place I have felt it to be incumbent upon us, in the very outset of our career, to enter upon that important department of our Society's future operations which will be devoted to the Sepulchral Monuments of London and Middlesex: and, secondly, I have been attracted by the intrinsic merit of these memorials, by their highly interesting character, and historical value.

Sepulchral Monuments cannot fail to occupy a prominent position in that systematic plan and in that sus-

* For an historical and descriptive notice of Monumental Brasses, I must refer to the first of my papers upon the Brasses of the county of Surrey, to be published in the "Transactions" of the Archæological Society of that county.

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tained course of action on which we shall do well mainly to depend for placing our Society, notwithstanding its recent appearance, at once in a condition of equality with its sister institutions. With the monuments themselves we shall of course associate all that is connected with them—as monumental antiquities, art, heraldry, and inscriptions; and we shall, I trust, go on to investigate all those genealogies and family records which may be found to elucidate the details of our national history, or may in themselves possess peculiar claims for attentive consideration. In this particular matter of monuments, accordingly (as, indeed, in other matters also), our aim and object will be to search out whatsoever appears to have been neglected; to bring together and to render accessible what may be both widely scattered abroad and difficult to discover; and, with the aid of the original works themselves, to form a correct, complete, and carefully-illustrated series of notes upon the sepulchral memorials of London and Middlesex as time has spared them to us, and as we fain would cherish the desire to render them imperishable.

Thus we may hope to contribute, as becomes us, to what has already been effected and still is being done for archæology by the various local Archæological Societies which have of late sprung up, and, under such favourable auspices, have taken root throughout the country; and at the same time we may accomplish what I believe to be an essential element both of our duty and our success—we may do something towards popularising archæology; we may aid in rendering archæology a really popular study in the best acceptation of that term, because we shew it to be in itself eminently attractive, while it leads to results of which the value consists in their practical utility.

The two Brasses which I now proceed to describe may be classed with the best and most interesting of these memorials. Each possesses its own distinctive characteristics; and the two have so much in common that a careful comparison between them is calculated greatly to enhance the value of both. Hence it is that I have preferred to group these two Brasses together, to treating them separately in their chronological order. Like some few other examples, these memorials evidently did not owe their existence to the necessity for obtaining such works of monu-

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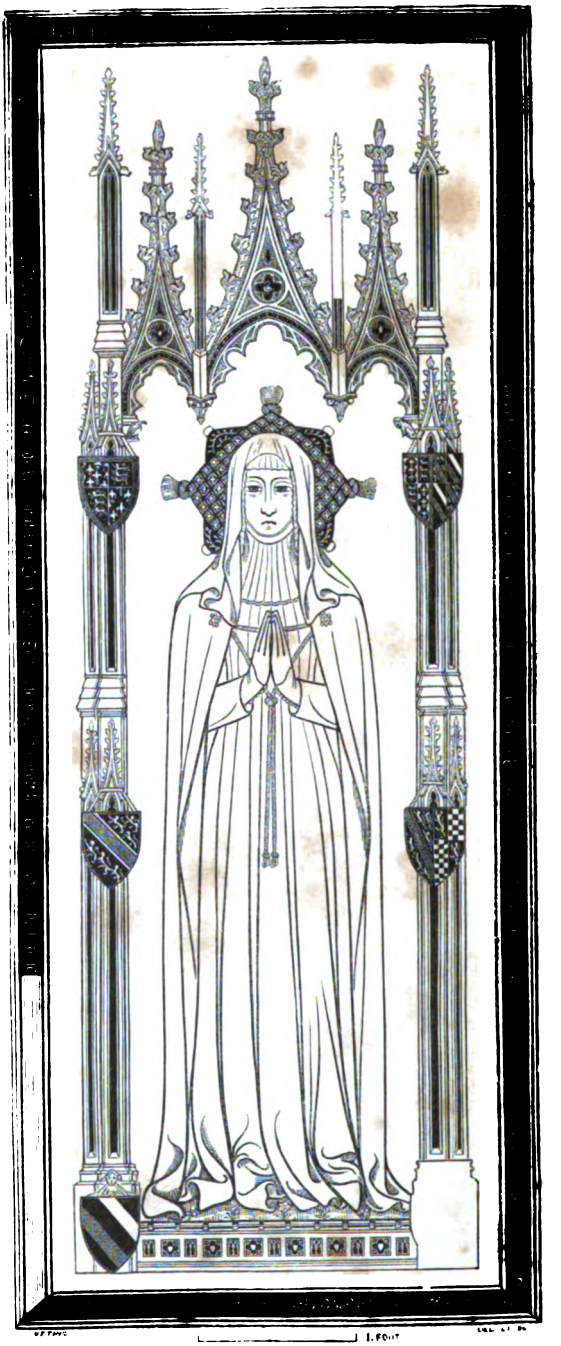

BRASS TO ALIANORE DE BOHUN.

WESTMINSTER ABBEY, A.D. 1399.

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BRASS TO LADY TIPTOFT.

ENFIELD CHURCH, MIDDLESEX, A.D. 1446.

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mental art as might lie flat in the pavement of a church without obtruding themselves upon the open space contained within the building itself. Both Brasses were originally designed to be placed upon raised tombs; and both, accordingly, were substituted for the more appropriate effigy and canopy sculptured in relief, in compliance with the prevailing usage and taste of the period, which had raised engraven plates to such high favour for the purpose of monumental commemoration.

In the case of either Brass, the composition consists of an effigy in the customary devotional attitude; a triple canopy, springing from pinnacled shafts and richly decorated with cusping, spandrel-ornaments, pinnacles, crockets, and finials; six shields of arms suspended from the canopy-shafts; and a border inscription on fillets of metal. The purer taste of the earlier period is shewn with remarkable expressiveness by instituting a close comparison between the details of the two Brasses, and by carefully observing the manner in which those details have been rendered, as well by the artists who have engraved the plates as by those who executed the designs. In order to facilitate such a comparison, the accompanying engravings from these Brasses are placed face to face.

Alianore de Bohun, eldest daughter of Humphrey de Bohun last Earl of Hereford, was married to Thomas de Woodstock, youngest son of King Edward III., who was murdered by command of his nephew, King Richard II., in 1397. She survived her husband about two years, and on her decease a monumental Brass was laid down above her tomb in St. Edmund's Chapel in Westminster Abbey-Church. The several parts of the design in this Brass are carefully subordinated, and so adjusted as to form a most harmonious whole. The effigy possesses those true attributes of noble monumental art—dignified simplicity and the solemnity of calm repose. The canopy is an architectural design of a high order, combining richness of ornamentation with much breadth and vigour in the general treatment: and the heraldic drawing of the armorial insignia, the disposition of the several shields, and the letters and ornamental accessories of the commemorative inscription, are all equally worthy of admiration. The metal in which this work is wrought is of the finest quality, and

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the plates are of great thickness; and the actual engraving has been executed with the skill, freedom of touch, and careful finish which denote a master in his art.

I would here observe, with reference to the canopies, with which in Monumental Brasses the recumbent figures are so commonly accompanied and with such happy effect, that, notwithstanding their architectural character, they are not to be understood to represent the architectural coverings which were occasionally placed above the more important altar-tombs. These canopies belong absolutely to the effigies about which they are placed, and, with the effigies, they are designed to be recumbent. They appear, in suitable relief, about many sculptured effigies, as well as engraven in Brasses and Slabs. They are *Effigy-Canopies*, not *Tomb-Canopies;* and they may, without doubt, derive their origin from the stern prototype of monumental effigies themselves—the stone coffin with its lifeless occupant. The stone coffin had almost invariably a cavity adapted purposely for the reception of the head of the dead; thence, when on the coffin-lid the figure of the deceased came to be portrayed, above the head of the carved portraiture was placed, as a covering, a low arch; and, with the progress of monumental art, the effigy-canopy assumed a high degree of importance in the general design, and was made to harmonise with the architecture of the entire monument. Niched statues, those most beautiful accessories of Gothic architecture, and in particular of Gothic altar-tombs, may thus have been derived from the simple canopied coffin-lid effigies, and through them from the stone coffin itself. A niche, in its simplest form, might indeed be defined to be a stone coffin set erect. Possibly, could we investigate the subject to its actual source, we might discover that the rude carving at the head of the stone coffin was an adaptation from some covering of honour assumed by the living man; but, from what remains to us of these interesting relics, the canopied niche and the tabernacled stall appear to have been derived from the stone coffin—the accessory of honour to the living from the last resting-place of the dead.

The illustrious widow of Thomas de Woodstock is represented habited in a flowing tunic, of which the ample folds cover her

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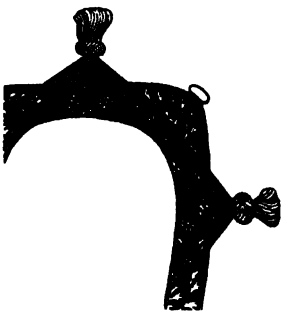
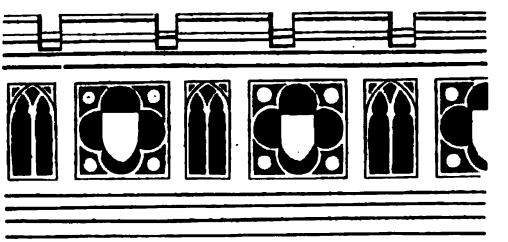
feet; the sleeves, which are small, are, like the robe itself, quite plain, and at the wrists they disclose under-sleeves which fit closely and partly cover the hands, and they also have beneath the arms close-set rows of small buttons; over all is a loose mantle secured across the breast by a simple cordon having pendent ends. About the head is adjusted a coverchef, from beneath which are apparent a wimple and coif or species of cap, both of them plaited or crimped. The head itself rests upon two richly embroidered cushions with tassels, the upper one being placed diagonally with the lower.* The countenance exhibits more of character and expression than is commonly found in memorials of this class.



Diapers of the Cushions; Brass to Alianore de Bohun.

The shafts of the canopy are connected at their bases by a band of rich panel-work having an embattled cresting. The shafts themselves are divided into two graduated stages, and at each stage they are enriched with a cluster of pinnacles: from the upper clusters rise the principal pinnacles of the canopy itself; and here also spring the lateral arches, the one on the dexter side of the composition from a corbel formed by a small figure of a lion, and that on the sinister side from a corresponding figure of a swan:



Details of Canopy: Brass to Alianore de Bohun.

* When a rubbing or an engraving of a Brass is placed in an upright position, these cushions have a singular and even a disagreeable effect: but, when laid down horizontally, they appear to be both consistent and ornamental appendages of the recumbent effigy.

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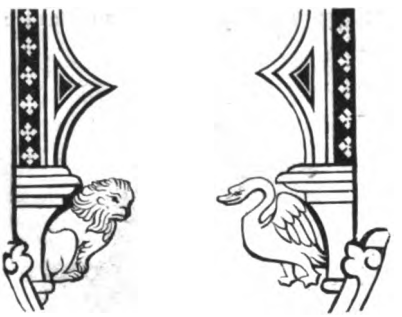
these figures are severally Badges of the Royal House of England and of the de Bohuns. The cusped circle which fills the central area of the main spandrel or pediment over the principal arch has also within it a swan, ducally gorged and chained, and with its wings closed; while within each of the similar circles above the lateral arches a lion's face has been introduced. The cusping of all the arches of the canopy is double-feathered. All the crocket-work, the pinnacle and finial ornaments,* with the enrichments of the lesser spandrels and of the other details are in the best style of the period, and highly characteristic of it. The upper and the central shield on either side are suspended, each from its guige or shield-belt, which passes over two of the smaller crockets of the pinnacles that are clustered about the canopy-shafts; and the two lower shields have their guiges supported by small figures, apparently of angels, which rise above the shields themselves.† The canopy remains quite perfect, with the sole exception of one of the lesser pinnacles, a part of one of the crockets, and the base of the shaft on the sinister side.



Corbels:
Canopy of Brass to Alianore de Bohun.

The uppermost shield of the dexter group bears the arms of THOMAS DE WOODSTOCK—*Old France and England, quarterly, within a bordure argent:* that is, the arms of his royal father, *differenced* with a silver bordure. The same shield (with the sole exception that in it the number of the fleurs-de-lys is reduced to three) was afterwards borne by Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, fourth son of King Henry IV. by his first wife Mary de Bohun, sister to the lady whose monument forms the subject of our present inquiry.‡ The central shield is charged with the arms of

* *Infrà*, p. 94.

† *See Appendix*, p. 108, for engravings of shields, &c.

‡ This shield appears repeatedly in the elaborate canopy beneath which the tomb of the good duke was erected by the pious care of Abbot John de

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DE BOHUN—*Azure, a bend argent, cotised and between* 6 *lioncels or.* A shield bearing this same blazonry originally formed one of the noble series of shields of arms which were placed in the spandrels of the arcade of the north aisle of the choir in Westminster Abbey: it was in the fourth compartment of the aisle from the east, and was the seventh shield in the order of succession in that direction.* This shield, with many others of the series, has been destroyed in order to admit some one of the modern monumental intruders, which have been permitted to inflict such reckless and destructive injury upon the most national and the noblest of our English churches. These arms of the de Bohuns are described in the contemporary poem of the siege of Caerlaverock, A.D. 1300, and in the roll of Edw. II. A.D. 1308. They may still be traced upon the ruined gateway to Lanthony Priory, near Gloucester: and they also had a place in the very fine and interesting series of shields in the painted glass at Dorchester abbey-church in Oxfordshire, as they have been described and blazoned by Lee, Winchell, and Anthony à Wood.† The third shield, which is placed in the dexter base of the brass, has been attributed to MILO EARL OF HEREFORD, from whom, by marriage with his

Shield of arms:
DE BOHUN.
Brass of Alianore de Bohun.

Wheathamstede, under the south-eastern arch of his abbey church at St. Alban's. See Blore's *Mon. Remains*, and Gough's *Sep. Mon.* ii. 142. The 3 lions of England within a silver bordure had been borne by Edmund Plantagenet, surnamed "of Woodstock," second son of Edward I.: also by the two sons of that Edmund, Edmund and John Plantagenet, by his grandson Thomas Holland, and his two great-grandsons Thomas and Edmund Holland, all of them successively Earls of Kent.

* Dart's *Westminster Abbey*, i. 60.

† Sir N. H. Nicolas' *Caerlaverock*, pp. 10 and 119; *Cott. MS. Calig. A.* XVIII. BRIT. MUS.; *Wood's MSS.* D. 14 and E. 1, ASHM. MUS.; Addington's *Dorchester*, p. 108; Vincent, pp. 239, 243, and 363; Nisbet, i. 91; Sandford, 231. See also *infrà*, *Appendix*, p. 110.

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heiress, this earldom passed to the de Bohuns: it is charged with *Gules, two bends, the one or, the other argent.* Possibly these Bends (or Bendlets) may be the heraldic representatives of the official Batons of Milo, as Constable of the Castles of Gloucester and Hereford: from them it is also possible that the *cotised Bend* of the de Bohun shield-of-arms may have been derived; and here the Bend may, perhaps, be associated with the office and rank of Constable of England, so long held in the family of Bohun.*

In the sinister group, the first shield displays the arms of THOMAS DE WOODSTOCK *impaling* those of BOHUN and HEREFORD, *quarterly:* and this, accordingly, is the united coat of arms of the Lady Alianore and her husband. I may here observe that, on her seal, this lady bore, on a lozenge, WOODSTOCK *impaling* DE BOHUN only.† The second shield of this group is that of the father and mother of the Lady Alianore: it bears DE BOHUN *impaling, quarterly, 1st and 4th, Gules, a lion rampant or,* for FITZALAN; *and 2nd and 3rd, Chequée or and azure,* for WARREN. This quartered coat was borne by Joanna, daughter of Richard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey by Eleanor his wife the daughter of Henry Earl of Lancaster, which Joanna became the wife of Humphrey de Bohun, the last Earl of Hereford of that name. The charge originally emblazoned upon the last shield in the Brass is now lost: but this shield is given by Sandford and Dart as bearing, *Gules, a swan argent, ducally gorged and chained or,* for the earldom of Essex, which dignity, having passed from the Mandevilles to the Bohuns, was invested in Thomas de Woodstock in right of his wife, the elder daughter, and, with her sister Mary, coheiress of the last Humphrey de Bohun.‡ This shield of arms, however, was not borne by the Mandevilles, neither does there appear to be any authority for associating it in any way with the Essex earldom. The manner in which the de Bohuns bore distinct armorial insignia for their earldom of Essex I shall describe hereafter:§ they do not appear to have borne any arms

* For seal of Earl Milo, see *Appendix*, p. 111. † *Appendix*, p. 108.
‡ Sandf. 232: Dart, i. 125: Dugd. *Bar.* i. pp. 201 and 703.
§ *Appendix*, p. 110.

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for their barony of Brecknock, nor do the last Earls appear to have quartered distinct arms for their several earldoms. But the Swan was a de Bohun badge: and we find that it was also the personal badge of Thomas de Woodstock, having, as it would seem, been adopted by him in consequence of his becoming a representative of the de Bohun family through his marriage. From its constant use for purposes of decoration by the de Bohuns, and afterwards by Thomas de Woodstock, this badge was evidently in great favour.* Some of the figures of the Swan in the Brass have their wings closed, while in others they are raised; some also have the ducal coronet and the chain, which appendages are not seen with others: hence it has been supposed that two distinct badges are here introduced. When assuming this badge from the de Bohuns, (supposing him so to have assumed it,) Thomas de Woodstock may have added the coronet and the chain: and the varied attitudes of the bird may have been used indiscriminately, and without any intention thereby to indicate any special signification.† This favourite device may possibly have been charged upon a shield and placed in the composition of this Brass, notwithstanding the prevailing rule of heraldic practice that the shield should be restricted to coats of arms, properly so called: as the fetter-lock appears upon two shields in the fine Brass to Sir Symon and Lady de Felbrigge at Felbrigg in Norfolk.‡ The town of Buckingham has still for its armorial cognizance the white swan, which it may have derived from Thomas de Woodstock, as Earl of Buckingham.

I have already remarked upon the excellence of both the drawing and the engraving of the various heraldic accessories in this Brass: and I am the more desirous to invite attention to these points, since the study of heraldry as an *art* has been much neglected, even by those who are familiar with it and understand its

* See *Appendix*, p. 110, and *Journal of Archæol. Association*, vi. p. 384.

† Thomas de Woodstock is entitled "Cygnus," *the Swan*, by Gower, in his *Vox Clamantis*, in allusion to his favourite device; *Weever*, 638. See also the Wills of the de Bohuns in Nichols's *Royal Wills: Sandford*, 125: *Strutt*, Plate 57: *Archæol. Journal*, xi. 343: and a note to p. 43, at p. 369, of *Caerlaverock*; and *Archæologia*, xxi. 196.

‡ Figured in *Mon. Brasses of England*; also in Cotman's *Norfolk Brasses*.

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value as a science. Much of the effectiveness of the early heraldry is the result of the free and bold drawing of its various devices, and especially of the vigorous though very decidedly conventionalized forms and the varied expression given to its animals. In our modern use of heraldry, as an architectural accessory possessing the all-important quality of being a concentrated historical record, we have much to learn in the matters of form and expression, as also in exactness of accuracy and consistency of use and application. After the close of the fourteenth century, the *art* of heraldry began gradually to decline until, in the middle of the succeeding century, there remained but little more than a tame and insipid exaggeration of the felicitous conventionalities of the early heralds. The Enfield Brass furnishes an excellent example of this change: in order to shew it the more plainly, I have placed the shields of the two Brasses together in the same page. (See p. 108.)

A hard composition (and not lead as was the prevailing usage,) was employed in the de Bohun Brass for receiving the metal, *argent*: and the gold and the other tinctures were doubtless expressed by a species of enamel or a fine mastic, and by gilding applied to the latten-plate: but of these there are now no remains.

Commencement of Inscription:
Brass of Alianore de Bohun.

A swan with closed wings appears before the cross (here elegantly floriated), which forms the customary initial to the commemorative inscription. The inscription itself commences at the foot of the sinister side of the Brass, and is carried about the two sides and the head of the composition: the fillet at the base is covered with four groups of foliage, each of which springs from a small circle enclosing the figure of a swan with closed

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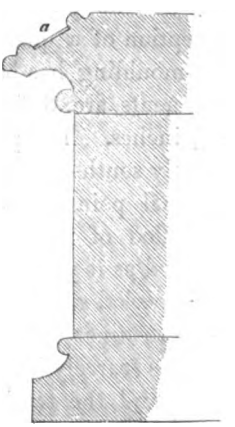
wings and without coronet or chain: other swans were originally between each group of foliage, but of these the coronets and

Ornamental accessories of the Inscription:
Brass of Alianore de Bohun.

chains are all that now remain. The concluding words of the inscription are also lost; but I have restored them from *Weever*, *Sandford*, and *Dart*. The complete inscription is as follows:—

✠ Cy gist Alianore de Bohun eisne fille & un des heirs a lonurable seigneur mons' Humfrey de Bohun Counte de Hereford' Dessex & de Norhampton' & Conestable Denglet're. femme a puissant & noble Prince Thomas de Wodestoke fil a tresexcellent & trepuissant seignour Edward Roy Denglet're puis le conquest tierz & Duc de Gloucestre Counte Dessex' & de Bukyngham & Conestable Denglete're Qe morrust le tierz jour Doctob'r lan du [grace Mill cclxxxix D'qui alme Dieux face Mercy. Amen.]*

This most dignified inscription has been repeatedly printed, but rarely (except in the case of the *Oxford Manual of Brasses*) with accuracy. The fillets, in width $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches, upon which it is engraved, are set in the chamfer of the bold group of mouldings which encompasses the monumental slab (as shewn in the annexed section,) and they mitre at the angles. The letters, which now appear in relief, are admirably formed, and, like the rest of the work, engraved with great skill and spirit.



Section of Slab and Tomb; shewing the chamfer in which the inscription fillets are set.

The Brass to Alianore de Bohun has been several times figured: these engravings

* *Weever*, 638: *Sandf.* 233: *Dart*, i. 125: *Gough*, i. 159: *Mon. Brasses and Slabs*, 146: *Oxford Manual*, 104.

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differ widely one from another; and indeed they appear to be agreed only in their inaccuracy, and in failing altogether to convey a just idea of the true character of the original. Gough's plate is singularly unfortunate: and, contrary to his usual habit, he has given a very brief and unsatisfactory notice of the monument itself, and of the noble lady of whom it is the memorial.*

The tomb which supports this fine Brass stands above the remains of the deceased lady, who was buried in accordance with the desire expressed as follows in her will, in the chapel of St. Edmund in Westminster Abbey:—"*jeo devise pur ma sepultur mon cors d'etre ensevelees en l'eglise de l'Abbeie de Westmonstre, eins la chapele de Seint Edmond le Roy & de Seint Thomas de Cantirbirs, juxte le corps de mon seignour & mari Thomas Duc de Gloucestr, & cet' filz au Roy Edward la tierce, & tout sois qe le corps de mon dit seignour & mari soit en temps avenir remue, si veule qe mon corps repose & demure en l'avant dit chapele & lieu.*"† The tomb, which rises from the midst of the pavement of the chapel, is very low, its entire height (including the massive upper slab of Purbeck marble, which is 5 inches in thickness,) being only 1 foot 6¼ inches. The tomb itself is composed of thick slabs of Purbeck, perfectly plain, and roughly put together: it has now no plinth, nor is any base-moulding visible, with the exception of a quarter-round hollow, from above which a small roll-moulding has been cut or broken away. Its greatest measurements are, 8 feet 0½ inches in length, and in width 3 feet 10¼ inches. The position of this tomb is remarkable: it stands exactly south-east and north-west, instead of being true to the cardinal points. Whether this tomb, as we see it, has been despoiled of its ornamental accessories, or was originally constructed as it yet remains, or has been altogether reconstructed at some period subsequent to its first erection, it is impossible now to determine: all that can be said with any certainty is, that there is scarcely less striking a contrast between the slab with its Brass and the tomb below them, than between the fortunes of

* Sandf., Dart, and Gough, *ut suprà*.

† Nichols's *Royal Wills*, 177.

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Alianore de Bohun herself in the earlier and in the closing scenes of her life.

In the pavement of this chapel, toward the south from the de Bohun tomb, lies the Brass to ROBERT DE WALDEBY, Archbishop of York, A.D. 1397; and further southward, upon a raised tomb adjoining the canopied monument to Sir Bernard Brocas with its sculptured effigy, are the remains of a third Brass, originally the memorial of Humphrey Bourchier, son and heir of John Lord Berners, who fell at the Battle of Barnet, A.D. 1471. I leave for future pages of our Society's "Transactions" all description of these Brasses, and of the monuments of William de Valence, John of Eltham, and others which are in this same chapel. But there is here one monument which appears, from the inscription which it bears, to claim some present attention. It is situated in close proximity to the tomb of Alianore de Bohun, toward the north, and it differs from it but little in height and general form; it is shorter, however, and altogether without pretension to any artistic character, and is composed of a whitish veined marble; upon its upper surface the following lines are inscribed:—

E REGIA STIRPE
THOMÆ DE WOODSTOCK ET ELEANORÆ
DE BOHUN DUCUM GLOCESTRIÆ
ORIUNDA,
BARONUM ET COMITUM STAFFORDIÆ
ET DUCUM BUCKINGHAMIÆ
FILIA ET HÆRES,
GULIELMI VICECOMITIS STAFFORDIÆ
VXOR,
MARIA COMITISSA STAFFORDIÆ
JUXTA CINERES AVLÆ SUÆ SUB
HOC MARMORE JACET.
OBIJT IDIB. IANNUAR. AN. ÆTATIS LXXIV.
SALUTIS M.DC.XCIII.

This noble lady, the direct lineal representative of Thomas de Woodstock and Alianore de Bohun, and of the Dukes of Buckingham and the Earls and Barons of Stafford, married Sir William Howard, who, after having been created Viscount Stafford, was most unjustly beheaded on Tower Hill, A.D. 1680, the 32nd year of Charles II.

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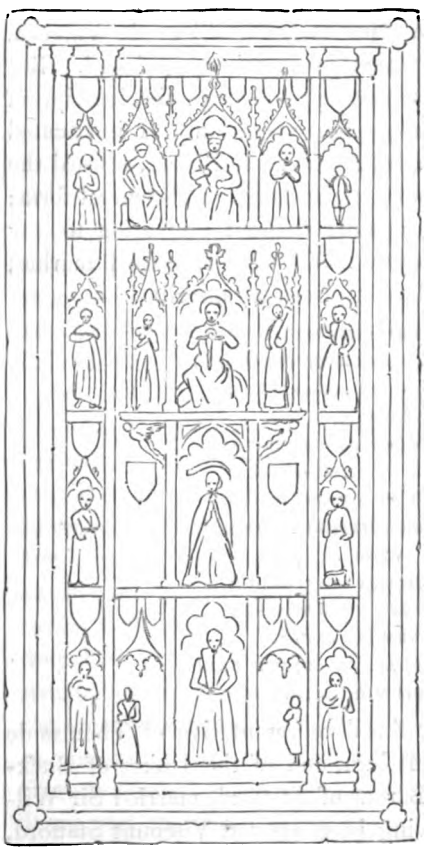
The body of the murdered Thomas de Woodstock himself rests in the chapel of Edward the Confessor, close beside the remains of his royal parents, having been removed thither from its first resting-place. The slab which covers his grave still continues *in situ*; but it has been despoiled of the very curious Brass which was originally affixed to its surface. Sandford and Dart have given engravings of this Brass; and the latter author describes it after the following manner:—"Between the shrine of St. Edward and the tomb of Queen Philipa, under a large stone, once finely plated with brass, with inscriptions now not legible, lies Thomas of Woodstock: . . . upon the tomb were the figures of himself, Duchess Elianor, Edward III., and Queen Philipa, with his brothers and sisters, as here exhibited."* From another passage in this author it would appear that this Brass was placed over the body on the occasion of its first interment, and that it was afterwards removed to Westminster Abbey. The peculiarity in the design of this Brass appears to have consisted in the absence of what may be termed any principal figure or figures. The entire stone was apparently covered with a series of small canopied figures, eighteen in number, with twenty shields of arms, various accesso-



Sketch from Dart's Engraving of the lost Brass to Thomas de Woodstock.

* Sandford, p. 231; Dart, ii. 47.

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ries of an architectural character, and a border inscription upon fillets set on the face of the slab and having at the angles the evangelistic emblems. In the absence of any more trustworthy authority for exact correctness, from the representation of it which is introduced into Dart's pages I have given the annexed wood-cut, in order to convey some idea of this remarkable composition.

On the 17th day of January, in the year 1373, two youthful sisters, Alianore and Mary, were left the sole heiresses and representatives of the ancient and powerful House of Bohun. On that day, in the thirty-second year of his age, died their father, Humphrey de Bohun, the eleventh and the last of the name, Earl of Hereford, Essex, and Northampton, Baron Brecknock, and Constable of England. Never before had an heir male failed in this noble family, since the accession of William the Norman to the English crown; and throughout this period of upwards of three centuries the wealth, power, and honours of the de Bohuns had continued to increase. They had formed great alliances; they had acquired an illustrious reputation; and but little had they experienced of the sharp and sudden vicissitudes of those stormy times. Good service they had done to England: they had always been found ready alike to uphold the rightful prerogatives of the crown, to enforce the just observance of the Great Charter, and openly and fearlessly to resist the aggressive policy of the Court of Rome. Wise statesmen and gallant soldiers, they held a distinguished place amongst the ever-to-be-honoured barons who vindicated the principles of that true freedom, combined with that no less true loyalty from which, in union, has grown up the unique fabric of the English constitution. But the fortunes of this great house did not attain to their highest exaltation, so long as there remained a de Bohun to bear the title of Earl of Hereford. The last Earl surpassed all his predecessors in the accumulation both of his dignities and his wealth: his daughters were elevated to a rank higher than he had himself enjoyed; they were married, the one to a son and the other to a grandson of the King. The descendants of the elder sister attained to the ducal rank; and the husband, the son, and the grandson of the younger sat in succession upon the throne of England. With this culmination

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of their fortunes, however, the true prosperity of the de Bohuns may be said to have ceased. A marked and most terrible change thenceforth attended them, so that scarcely a generation passed away without some overwhelming reverse of fortune, or some violent death.

It will not be possible for me here to attempt more than the slightest sketch of the history of the House of Bohun; yet even such a sketch, executed in the most simple outline, may serve to show how striking was the contrast between the Earls of Hereford, and the Lancastrian Princes, the Dukes of Buckingham and the Earls of Stafford, their successors; it may also, perhaps, induce some persons to extend an inquiry, which is able to illustrate in the most graphic manner the history of England.

The Ladies Alianore and Mary de Bohun were left by their father the two noblest and most wealthy heiresses in the realm. Alianore became the wife of THOMAS, surnamed, from the place of his birth, DE WOODSTOCK, seventh son of King Edward III. Mary was married to HENRY OF LANCASTER, the powerful and aspiring son of John of Gaunt; but she did not survive to witness his elevation to the throne, as HENRY IV. While yet young she died, Countess of Derby, A.D. 1394, "leaving behind her," says Weever, "a glorious and faire renowned issue of children, to the comfort of her husband and good of the commonwealth, viz.: *Henry*, afterwards King of England; *Thomas*, Duke of Clarence; *John*, Duke of Bedford; *Humphrey*, Duke of Gloucestre; *Blanch*, married to William, Duke of Bauaria and Emperour; and *Philipa*, married to John, King of Denmarke and Norway."* A single individual represented this family in the next generation—the unfortunate Henry VI. The fifth Henry, whose brief career forms so brilliant an episode in our national history, died in 1422, aged 34 years, and was buried in Westminster Abbey; Thomas Plantagenet, K.G. Earl of Albemarle and Duke of Clarence, fell at Baugy, A.D. 1421; John Plantagenet, K.G. Earl of Kendal and Duke of Bedford, Constable of England and Regent of France, died A.D. 1435, and was buried in Rouen Cathedral;† and Humphrey Plantagenet, Earl of Pembroke and Duke of Glou-

* Weever, p. 210. See also *Appendix*, p. 109. † See Gough, ii. 111.

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cester, was murdered A.D. 1446, and buried in the abbey church of St. Alban. At their deaths all their honours became extinct. The two royal sisters of these princes died childless. Their father, Henry Bolingbroke, was created a Knight of the Garter by Richard II.; in 1385 he was also created, by that same Prince, Earl of Derby; and afterwards, in 1397, he was elevated to the dukedom, with the title of Duke of Hereford—a title evidently derived from the ancient earldom of the de Bohuns. The following year witnessed his disgrace, and his banishment from the memorable lists at Coventry.* In 1399 he was crowned King, when the dukedoms of Lancaster and Hereford, with the earldoms of Derby, Lincoln and Leicester, and the barony of Brecknock, merged in the crown. He died in 1412, and was buried in Canterbury Cathedral. The reign and the life of his sole grandson, Henry VI., were terminated by the same deed of violence, in 1471; and in that same year, "in the field by Tewkesbury," the only child of Henry VI., Edward, Prince of Wales, was murdered; he was in the 20th year of his age; and his tragical death closed the line of Mary de Bohun and Henry of Lancaster.

The tragedy of their race began to be enacted at an earlier period with the Lady Alianore than with her younger sister. Having been at an early age affianced by Edward III. to his youngest son, Thomas de Woodstock, she was united to that Prince by command of Richard II.; and she conveyed to her husband, with her portion of the vast estates and wealth of her late father, his hereditary office of Constable of England, and the earldom of Essex. The earldom of Northampton is also said to have passed to Thomas de Woodstock; but he does not bear this title, either in his seal or in the inscription upon his widow's tomb. He had been appointed Constable, during the Lady Alianore's minority, by Edward III., and in 1377 he was confirmed in that office and rank by Richard II.†

* On this occasion Hereford displayed the de Bohun swan in union with his own badge, the antelope: his "charger was barded with green and blue velvet, richly embroidered with *swans* and antelopes of goldsmith's work."—Sandford, p. 266. Henry V. adopted the same badges; and the swan and antelope are also said to have been used as *supporters* by both Henry IV. and Henry V.

† Rymer, vol. iii. part iii. p. 60. See also *Appendix*, pp. 109, 112.

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Rarely had the married life of a noble lady commenced with happier and more brilliant prospects, than when Alianore de Bohun became Countess of Buckingham and Essex. Shortly after her marriage, her husband was created Duke of Gloucester. He was then in the prime of life; he was in high favour with the King, his nephew; and his brother-in-law, the Earl of Derby, and himself, were two of the most powerful, as well as the wealthiest and most dignified personages in the kingdom. But the sunshine of this great prosperity soon passed away, and most dismal was the darkness which succeeded to it. A man of strong mind and resolute will, the Duke of Gloucester was unable to endure the unhappy weaknesses which characterised the reign of Richard: accordingly, "he forbare not, roughlie, not so much to admonish, as to check and schoole his Soueraigne."* Coldness was succeeded by anger on the part of the King; and then suspicions were excited in the royal mind by men, who would gladly remove from their Sovereign such a kinsman as the Constable. Mowbray, the Earl Marshall, with Holland, Earl of Exeter, appear to have been the Duke's chief enemies.† The resolution of the King was soon formed and promptly carried into effect; on the 21st of September, 1397, a summons was issued, commanding Thomas Duke of Gloucester to appear before the Parliament; within a few days, the Duke was seized at his castle of Plessy, in Essex, by the Earl Marshall, and having been hurried thence to Calais was there instantly murdered. He was then in his forty-fifth year. The crime was too great to be committed with safety upon English ground; but no danger would attend upon subsequent acts of spoliation. Accordingly all the titles and dignities of the deceased Prince, with his whole property, including the entire inheritance of his wife, were at once confiscated to the crown. On the 6th of October (that is, within a few days of the murder), the King issued a characteristic mandate to the Archbishops and their suffragans, "*de orando pro animâ*

* Weever, p. 639; Froissart, iv. p. 582.

† Within the space of two years a stern retribution had fallen upon both these noblemen, and also on their master: in 1399 Richard was deposed and murdered; Exeter was beheaded for treason; and Norfolk died, attainted and in exile.

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Thomæ nuper Ducis Glocestriæ, &c." The widowed Alianore received the King's permission, on the 14th of that same month, to have the body of her late husband buried, under her direction, in Westminster Abbey; but before this act of royal clemency could take effect, the bereaved lady was peremptorily commanded to convey the body for burial to Bermondsey Abbey. I do not find whether this command was enforced; it is, however, certain that the Duke's remains were not interred at Westminster at the period of his decease. Weever says, from Holinshed, that they were "conueyed with all funerall pompe into England, and buried" at Plessy, in the church there of the Duke's "own foundation, in a goodly sepulchre prouided by himselfe in his life-time;" and he adds, that these "reliques were afterwards remoued and laid under a marble inlaid with brasse in the King's chappell at Westminster."*

The Duchess retired to the Abbey of Berking, where she is said to have assumed the religious habit. The King granted to her, for her use, her own clothes, and other articles of her property, to the value of 124*l.* 18*s.*—"*bonorum et catallorum, sibi necessariorum, usque ad valorem centum et quater viginti librarum, et decem et octo solidorum;*" and warrants were addressed to the King's "escaetor" in Essex, and to *Richard Whytyngton*, Lord Mayor of London *(majori Civitat. Lond.)*, to release these confiscated effects.† One son and four daughters were born to Thomas de Woodstock and Alianore his wife; they all bore the surname of Plantagenet, and their christian names were Humphrey, Anne, Joanne, Isabel, and Philippa. Isabel was a nun in the house of the Sisters Minoresses (the Minories), near London, "*dehors la porte de Algate.*" Philippa died young. Joanne married Gilbert, Lord Talbot; their only child, a daughter, died at an early age, A.D. 1421. Humphrey Plantagenet, after his father's murder, was sent with his cousin Henry, son of the Duke of Hereford, into Ireland, and there they were detained until the accession of Henry IV. to the throne. The youthful cousins were then recalled; and King Henry proposed to reinstate his

* Weever, p. 638. See also Rymer, vol. iii. part iv. pp. 135, 137, 138, and 139.

† Ibid. p. 141.

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nephew in all the honours which had been enjoyed by his father. But an untimely fate awaited the young prince; he died of the plague, at Chester, on his way towards London; or, as some writers affirm, he was drowned on his passage from Ireland. According to Weever, he was buried at Walden, in Essex, by his mother, who survived him for a few weeks only.* The unhappy Duchess died at Berking Abbey, Oct. 3rd, 1399, leaving a will bearing date August the 9th in that same year. This document, printed in Nichols's *Royal Wills*, contains many interesting passages, and throughout it is a pathetic commentary upon the fallen fortunes of the testatrix. In it she speaks of her late father, as "*Humfrey de Bohun, darreme Counte de Herford d'Essex et de Northampton, et Conestable d'Engleterre:*" her late husband she styles, "*monseignour et mari Thomas Duc de Gloucestr;*" and again, "*Thomas sum tyme Duc of Gloucestre;*" her mother she entitles, "*madame et mere la Countesse d'Erford;*" and she speaks of herself as "*Alianore Duchesse de Gloucestre, Countess d'Essex, &c.*" She bequeaths to her son Humphrey, *inter alia*, some books, "*tous en François:*" "*un habergeon ove un crois de laton merchie sur le pis encontre le cuer, quele feust a mon seignour son piere;*" and also "*un crois d'or pendant par un cheyne ove une ymage du crucifix et iiii perles entour, ove ma benoison, come chose du myen qe jai mieux amee.*" To her eldest daughter, Anne, she leaves, besides other things, "*un pare de pater nostres d'ore cont' xxx ariez et iiii gaudes de get* (four large beads of jet), *qe fuesent a mon seignour et mari son piere, ove ma benoison.*"† She leaves 40*l.* "*de monoie*," with various books, to her daughter Isabelle, the nun. Her other money bequests are few, and have reference to her funeral expenses, and a certain gift to the Abbess and Sisters Minoresses.

Strutt, in his 57th Plate, gives a portrait of Thomas de Woodstock (from *Nero D.* VII.); he wears a double-pointed beard, and in his right hand he holds, in a wreath or jewel, a silver swan. It is also probable that the same volume contains another portrait of

* Walsingham, p. 401. Dugd. *Bar.* ii. p. 173. Weever, p. 627.

† In her will, dated, 1356, Elizabeth de Badlesmere, wife of William de Bohun, Earl of Northampton (the father and mother of the last Humphrey de Bohun), leaves to one of her sisters a set of beads *of gold and jet.*

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this Prince, at plate 16. Sandford informs us, that on the north side of the tomb of King Edward III. was a statuette (a "weeper") of Thomas de Woodstock, and he adds, that his arms were on the same side of the tomb of Queen Philippa, his mother.* Both statuette and shield are now gone. This same author has figured two seals and a secretum of the Duke, with a seal of Alianore his Duchess. I propose to describe these seals, together with some other heraldic ensigns of the de Bohuns, in an Appendix to this Paper. I may here observe that the Duchess Alianore is introduced by Shakespear, as one of the *dramatis personæ* in his RICHARD II.

Anne Plantagenet, eldest daughter of the Duke and Duchess of Gloucester, was affianced to Thomas, third Earl of Stafford, and after his early death she married his brother Edmund, the fifth Earl: the marriage was solemnized A.D. 1399, and in 1403 the Earl was killed at the battle of Shrewsbury. He left one son, Humphrey de Stafford, who succeeded him; and one daughter, Anne de Stafford, who was married first to Edmund Mortimer, fifth Earl of March, and secondly to John Holland, Duke of Exeter: by her second marriage she had an only son, Henry, second Duke of Exeter, who was involved in the ruin of the House of Lancaster, and was found dead in the sea, A.D. 1473; this most unfortunate nobleman married Anne, sister of Edward IV., from whom he was divorced.

After the death of the fifth Earl of Stafford, his widow married William Bourchier, who, A.D. 1419, was created Earl of Eu in Normandy. In the person of her eldest son by this marriage, Henry Bourchier,† was revived the de Bohun Earldom of Essex; and through the marriage of the grand-daughter of this Earl with Sir John Devereux, K.G., were descended the Earls of Essex and Viscounts Hereford, of the House of Devereux. By their marriages with the heiresses of the Lords Fitz-Warine and Berners, the younger brothers of Henry first Earl of Essex of the House of Bourchier, became William Bourchier, Lord Fitz-Warine, and John Bourchier, Lord Berners: these noblemen were severally succeeded by their sons.

In the year 1444, Humphrey de Stafford, K.G., grandson of

* Sandford, pp. 177 and 172.

† The fine brass to this Earl is figured by Waller.

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Thomas de Woodstock and the Lady Alianore, seventh Baron and sixth Earl of Stafford, was created Duke of Buckingham; and, in 1460, he fell, fighting gallantly under the Lancastrian banner, at the battle of Northampton. He had married Anne, daughter of Ralph Neville, first Earl of Westmorland, by whom he had a numerous issue. His eldest son, Humphrey, Earl of Stafford, was killed, in 1445, at the first battle of St. Alban's, where his father-in-law, Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, also fell.

Henry de Stafford, K.G. son of Humphrey, Earl of Stafford, and Margaret Beaufort, his wife, succeeded his grandfather as second Duke of Buckingham, and was beheaded in the market-place at Salisbury, A.D. 1483: he had married Katharine, sister of Elizabeth Woodville, Queen of Edward IV., by whom he had two sons and two daughters. His eldest son,

Edward de Stafford, K.G., was restored to all his father's honours, to which was added the office of Constable of England. This was the great Duke of Buckingham, the favourite and the victim of Henry VIII., who was beheaded on Tower-hill, May 17, 1521. With his attainder and execution, the fortunes of his princely and illustrious house sunk, never again to attain to any distinguished eminence, except indeed in a single instance, when once more (A.D. 1670) a distinguished nobleman, bearing the title of Viscount de Stafford, fell, through a most false charge, beneath the axe of the executioner. The last Duke of Buckingham had married Alianore, daughter of Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, and was succeeded, as Lord Stafford, by Henry, his eldest son, who married Ursula, niece of Kings Edward IV. and Richard III. Two other Barons Stafford (the son and grandson of this Henry) followed in succession, when Edward, the fourth Baron, died without issue, and the barony devolved upon his kinsman, Roger, the son of Richard, himself the second son of Henry, Baron Stafford, and Ursula his wife. In 1639, this Roger Stafford was formally deprived of his rank as a Baron, by Charles I. on account of his poverty and abject condition; and in 1640 he died, having never married. Mary Stafford, his sister (who had married Sir William Howard, younger son of Thomas, Earl of Arundel), was created Baroness Stafford, and shortly after her husband was advanced to

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the Viscounty of Stafford. This is the Lady whose tomb I have described (*suprà*, p. 79), and who was buried, twenty-three years after her husband had fallen a victim to the infamous Titus Oates and his associates, by the side of Alianore de Bohun, in Westminster Abbey. Henry, the eldest son of the Viscount, was created Earl of Stafford, A.D. 1688; but this earldom became extinct, A.D. 1762, on the death of John Paul Stafford-Howard, the fourth Earl. By the reversal of the iniquitous attainder of 1670, in the year 1824, the Barony of Stafford has been revived in the family of Jerningham.

I now direct my glance upwards to the origin of the DE BOHUNS, as an English family.* It is recorded that a Humphrey de Bohun was one of the military leaders who accompanied his kinsman William of Normandy on his adventurous expedition to this island, and was present with him at the battle of Hastings. In the time of Rufus, the son of this Humphrey acquired important territorial possessions near Salisbury, by his marriage with a daughter of Edward de Sarum. This second Humphrey de Bohun bore the surname of "*the Great*," and was succeeded by the third of his name after the Norman Conquest,

Humphrey de Bohun, who married Margeria of Hereford, sister of Berta, and with her co-heiress of Milo, a chieftain of the Marches of Wales, the only son of Walter, Constable of the castles of Gloucester and Hereford. This Milo is entitled Constable and Lord of Hereford; and he married Sibilla, sole daughter and heiress of Bernard de Brecknock, a feudal Baron of the Marches: he founded the second religious house of Lanthony, near Gloucester, and dying in 1143, was buried there. His five sons succeeded their father and one another, as Lords of Hereford, and died (probably by the hands of their Welsh neighbours) without issue. The honours and property of their father thus passed to their sisters, of whom the eldest conveyed the feudal Barony of Hereford to her husband, Humphrey de Bohun; Berta married William de Brewys or Braose, who, in her right, became

* I do not consider it to be necessary to give more than a general reference to Dugdale's *Mon. Ang.* and his *Bar.*, to Rymer, Vincent, Sandford, &c. &c. as the sources from whence the following notice has been, for the most part, derived.

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Lord of Brecknock; and a third sister, Lucia, of whom but little is recorded, is said to have married a certain Herebert, and to have had as her portion the forest of Dene and some adjoining lordships. This Humphrey was steward and sewer to Henry I. During the time of Stephen, he adhered to the cause of the Empress Matilda, and afterwards was one of the Barons who resolutely supported the authority of her son, Henry II. In the twentieth year of Henry II. he was in arms in Scotland, and was a witness to the treaty then concluded between his sovereign and William, King of Scots. He died in 1187, and was succeeded by his son,

Humphrey de Bohun, the fourth of the name, who was CONSTABLE OF ENGLAND, and, in the Chronicle of Lanthony, is entitled Earl of Hereford. This Baron married Margaret, sister of the Scottish King, by whom he had his son and successor,

Henry de Bohun, Constable of England, and created, by charter of King John dated April 28, 1199, EARL OF HEREFORD. He was one of the Barons of Runnymede; and also one of the twenty-five Barons who undertook that the King should observe the provisions of *Magna Charta*, pledging himself to aid in compelling him so to do, in case of need. His wife was Matilda, sole daughter and heiress of Geoffrey Fitz-Piers, himself (through his marriage with Beatrice de Say) representative and heir of the De Mandevilles, EARLS OF ESSEX. Thus the honours and the great inheritance of the Earls of Essex became invested in the family of Bohun. In the year 1220 Henry de Bohun died, while on his voyage to the Holy Land: he was buried at Lanthony, and his son, another

Humphrey de Bohun, then became Constable of England, second Earl of Hereford and Earl of Essex, and was distinguished by the title of "*the Good.*" An active part in all the most important events of his time was taken by this great Baron; a complete memoir of his life would, consequently, form a history of the reign of Henry III. He was one of the godfathers of Edward I.; he stood forward to secure the observance of the Charter of Liberties and of the Forest by the King; he was repeatedly engaged with the bold invaders of the Welch Marches; he went to the Holy Land; he was present in the Parliament at

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London, when the King was refused a subsidy, for which he had asked, contrary to his promise; he joined with Prince Edward and others, in undertaking that the King should observe the award made by the King of France, touching the provisions of Oxford and all other differences between the King and his Barons; and he was one of the Peers who, A.D. 1246, addressed and sent to the Pope a letter, "whereby, representing the oppressions under which this kingdom then suffered from the Court of Rome, they threatened to free themselves, if sudden remedy were not otherwise had." He died A.D. 1275, and was buried at Lanthony, having married, first, Matilda, daughter of the Earl of Eu in Normandy; and secondly, Matilda de Avenbury. His eldest son,

Humphrey de Bohun, the sixth of that name, did not attain to the honours of his family, having died, A.D. 1264. He was one of the most distinguished of the rebellious Barons who were confederated with Simon de Montfort. At the battles of Lewes and Evesham he held important commands; but being taken prisoner after the defeat at the latter place, he was sent to Beeston Castle in Cheshire, where shortly afterwards he died. He had married Alianora de Brewys, one of the four daughters and co-heiresses of the great Barons—the Lords of Brecknock, a co-heiress also to Eva her mother, who was a daughter and co-heiress with her four sisters to William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke. By this marriage the de Bohuns added to their titles that of BARONS OF BRECKNOCK, and they acquired very considerable additions to their already numerous lordships and great wealth. His son was the seventh who bore the name of

Humphrey de Bohun, and he succeeded his grandfather as Constable of England, Earl of Hereford and Essex; he was also Baron Brecknock. True to the principles of his ancestors, and an inheritor of their spirit and daring, this Earl repeatedly resisted the encroachments of the crown, while, at the same time, he was foremost amongst those who were ready to execute the just commands of his sovereign. He accompanied Edward I. A.D. 1298, into Scotland, where he won an important victory at Roxburgh. In that same year he died at Plessy, and was buried

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at Walden in Essex. By his Countess Matilda, daughter of William de Fienles, he had one son,

Humphrey de Bohun, the eighth of the name, who succeeded to all the honours and property of his father. At Caerlaverock he executed the duties of his hereditary office of Constable, and in the Roll of that siege he is described as "a rich and elegant young man." In 1302 he married Elizabeth Plantagenet, daughter of King Edward I. The eminent position occupied by the de Bohun family is apparent, both from this alliance and also from the special causes which led to it, as they were set forth at the time in an important document: these causes were that, there having been great dissension between the King and the Earl's father, the peace and tranquillity of the realm might be established by the marriage then proposed.* Shortly after his marriage, the Earl surrendered all his honours and lordships to the King, who granted them again to him and to his heirs. Edward I. sent him as his Commissioner into Scotland. At the coronation of Edward II. he carried one of the sceptres; in the next year he was, Dugdale says, the "principal person sent by the King from York with a sufficient strength to defend the Marches of Scotland;" he took a leading part in the conspiracy to destroy Piers Gaveston; in 1313 he was at the head of another most important royal commission; having been taken prisoner at Stirling, A.D. 1314, he regained his liberty by being exchanged for the wife of Robert Bruce, who had long been a captive in England. In 1315 he delivered the King's answer to the Bishops, and was one of the Peers appointed to regulate the royal household: shortly after this he was again engaged in military operations in Scotland, and on January 19th, 1321, he was a commissioner to negotiate a peace with Robert le Bruce. In this same year, Hereford joined the Earl of Lancaster against the Despencers, and himself published the act for their banishment in Westminster Hall. In the following year, March 16th, he lost his life at the battle of Boroughbridge in Yorkshire: he was about forty-five years of age at the time of his death, and he was buried in the church of the Friars Preachers at York. By his wife the Princess Elizabeth, he had six sons and four daughters;

* Rymer, i. p. 941.

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of these ladies, one was married to James Boteler, Earl of Ormond, and another to Hugh Courtenay, Earl of Devon: his eldest son, Humphrey, died young. The Earl was succeeded by his eldest surviving son,

John de Bohun, K.B., in all his dignities and estates. Having served in the Scottish wars, in consequence of his infirm state of of health this Earl was permitted to depute his brother Edward de Bohun (who died unmarried), to perform the duties of the Constableship. He died A.D. 1335, without issue, having married Alice, daughter of Edmund eighth earl of Arundel; and secondly, Margaret, daughter of Ralph, Lord Basset of Drayton. Among his other manors was that of Enfield in Middlesex.* To him succeeded his brother

Humphrey de Bohun, tenth of the name, being then twenty-five years of age. He died, unmarried, October 15th, 1361, and was buried in the church of the Augustine Friars in London, which had been rebuilt by him in 1354. He was present at the great battle of Sluyse, A.D. 1340, and at the great tournament held in the year following at London: he twice attended the King into France, and in the year 1347 he obtained the royal licence to fortify and embattle his manor-houses in Essex, Middlesex, Wilts, and Gloucestershire; of the ten edifices which thus became castles, one was at Enfield. The brother of this Earl,

William de Bohun, meanwhile, had become one of the most distinguished Barons in the realm, and when Prince Edward was created Duke of Cornwall, March 17, 1337, he had himself received the title of EARL OF NORTHAMPTON. In this same year he was appointed one of the Royal Commissioners to treat with Philip, King of France, touching the right of Edward III. to the French crown: afterwards he was repeatedly a Royal Commissioner both in France and Scotland, and almost every year found him receiving some fresh tokens of his sovereign's esteem and confidence. He was at the naval battle at Sluyse, and conducted important military operations in Britany. At Cresci, in the 2nd division of the English army, (as both before and after that memorable fight,) "he approved himself a right valiant and expert commander." He was also employed, as well in a military as

* See *infrà*, p. 100.

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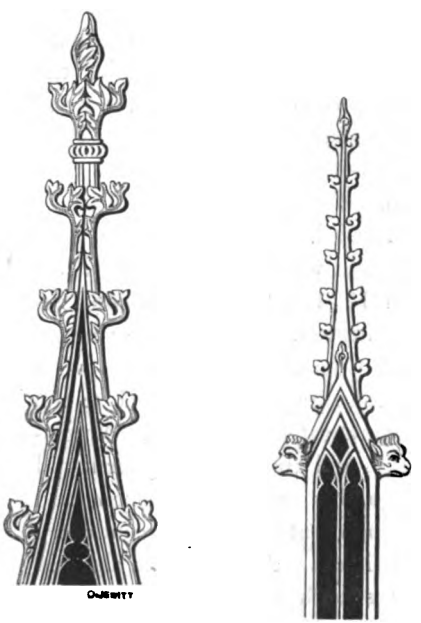
in a diplomatic capacity, in Scotland. He was, with Humphrey his brother, one of the Knights Founders of the Garter. He seems, indeed, to have enjoyed the uninterrupted favour of Edward III. and to have been constantly near the King's person. It is worthy of remark that, on several occasions, in consequence of the King being unable (because of the wars) to pay to this Earl certain large sums of money due to him for his various services, he received licence to export wool into Britany: in the year 1342 it is expressly specified, that he should export two hundred sacks of wool, each sack to weigh twenty-six stone, and each stone to be equal to fourteen pounds. This nobleman married Elizabeth, daughter of Bartholomew de Badlesmere (a Baron of great power and dignity), sister and co-heiress to Giles de Badlesmere, and widow of Edmund Lord Mortimer: he died Sept. 16, 1360, and was buried in Walden Abbey in Essex, leaving one son and one daughter, Humphrey and Elizabeth de Bohun. The brother and sister were entrusted to the guardianship of Richard ninth Earl of Arundel, a comrade of their father at Cresci, and a participator with him in many most important services to their sovereign and their country. Elizabeth de Bohun afterwards became the wife of her guardian's eldest son and successor, Richard, the gallant but unfortunate tenth Earl of Arundel; from which marriage the Howards, Dukes of Norfolk, &c. derive their descent. (See p. 74.)



Details of Canopy: Brass of Alianore de Bohun. (See page 72.)

The youthful Humphrey de Bohun, the eleventh and *last* who bore that name, succeeded to his father, as second Earl of Northampton,

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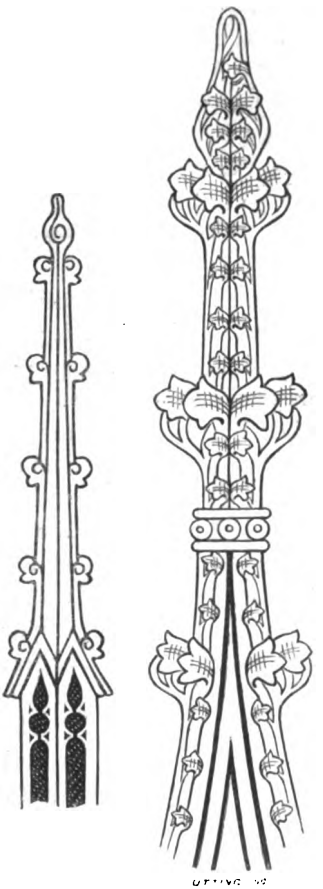
and to Humphrey de Bohun his uncle, in the earldoms of Hereford and Essex, the lordship of Brecknock, and the high office of Constable of England. He thus saw the rank, dignity, and wealth of his noble and ancient house concentrated in his person; but he did not live long to enjoy his great honours. Having married Joane Fitzalan, daughter of his guardian, he died A.D. 1372.* Of the eventful fortunes of his two sole daughters and co-heiresses, the Ladies Alianore and Mary de Bohun, a sketch has already been given.

THE BRASS AT ENFIELD is to the memory of Jocosa or Joice Charlton, Lady Tiptoft, who died A.D. 1446. It lies, in its original position, above the vault, upon a raised tomb which fills the space covered by the easternmost arch on the north side of the chancel. Accordingly, towards the south, this tomb appears inclosed within the communion-rails, while towards the north it is approached from a chapel now used as a vestry.† The slab, which is of Purbeck, remains in a good condition; and the Brass itself has lost but a part of the finial to one of its secondary pinnacles, together with three of the Evangelistic emblems. Parts



Pinnacle and Finial: Canopy of Tiptoft Brass.

* *See Appendix*, p. 110, note.

† With the view to inclose the chancel from the vestry, the arch-opening above the tomb is filled with a window-sash in a frame of wood. One half of the Brass is thus excluded from the church; and, less fortunate than the other moiety, it has been used as the depository for a miscellaneous collection of vestry requisites.

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of the inscription, which is incised on fillets set on the upper surface of the slab, are also shut out from view, as I shall presently have occasion to explain.

Emblem of St. Matthew: Tiptoft Brass.

The composition of this Brass, in its various details, appears to have been very closely adapted from the memorial to Alianore de Bohun: in the treatment of these details, however, a very decided contrast may be observed between the two works. The later Brass is richly ornamented, and on the whole it produces a good general effect, but a close examination will shew it to be deficient in purity of design, and in that truly artistic treatment which distinguishes the earlier memorial. This is particularly apparent in the architectural composition of the canopy; in the adjustment of the several members which compose the shafts, and in the springing of the canopy-arches from them; in the character of the crockets and finials, and also in the drawing of both the effigy and the heraldic accessories, together with the adjustment of the shields and the forms of the shields themselves. The quality of the metal, though good, is not equal to that employed in the de Bohun Brass, and the engraver's work has lost almost every trace of the masterly handling of the earlier artist.

Boss: Canopy of Tiptoft Brass.

The costume of the effigy is both characteristic and valuable, as an example illustrative of the period: it consists of the customary long and flowing robe or tunic, which is here deeply bordered with ermine, and is without long sleeves; over this appears the sideless cote-hardi (the peculiarly formed jacket which

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was so long in favour in Plantagenet and Tudor times), which is sleeveless, and, like the tunic, enriched with ermine; an heraldic mantle is worn above all, and is secured by a heavily jewelled and tasselled cordon. This mantle displays the armorial ensigns of *Tiptoft*, *Powys*, and *Holland*, the wearer's husband, father, and mother; and strange, indeed, must have been the appearance of these great lions, thus displaying their heraldic peculiarities upon a lady's dress. The coiffure is an elaborate composition of the "horned" form, surmounted by an ample coronet; and, with a cover-chef, it carefully and completely removes from the sight that head-covering which is so far more beautiful than diapered goldsmiths' work—the hair. A very rich neck-lace supports a pendent jewel; there are narrow bracelets about the wrists, and rings on the fingers of the right hand. The countenance is large, and its features convey a somewhat peculiar expression.

Head of Effigy: Tiptoft Brass.

The uppermost shield of arms on the dexter side bears the arms of CHERLTON DE POWYS,—*Or, a lion rampant gules.* Upon the third shield in this group are emblazoned the arms of TIPTOFT,—*Argent, a saltire engrailed gules.* And the central shield exhibits TIPTOFT *impaling* POWYS, which is itself *impaled* by HOLLAND,—*Gules, three lions of England, within a bordure argent.** This impaling of HOLLAND with POWYS is very singular, the correct positions of the two coats being reversed.† On the sinister side of the canopy, the first shield bears TIPTOFT *impaling* POWYS. The central shield displays POWYS and HOLLAND *quarterly*—the personal arms of Lady Tiptoft. And the last shield repeats POWYS. There are no heraldic accessories

* *Suprà*, note at page 72.

† A similar instance occurs in the fine Brass to Sir John Harsyck and Lady (A.D. 1384), at Southacre, Norfolk, figured in *Mon. Brasses of England.*

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Spandrel Ornaments, Cusping, and Crockets
Canopy of Tiptoft Brass.

introduced into the actual composition of the canopy: the three circles which appear within the principal spandrils severally contain the words—

Mercy Jhu ꝯgr^ace.

After every word of the inscription there is either a leaf, a flower, an animal or bird, or some celestial figure; the legend itself commences with an initial cross, above the effigy, on the dexter side, and, so far as it is accessible, it may be read as follows:—

Part of Inscription: Tiptoft Brass.

+ . . . . . na . Jocosa . quondam . filia . et . vna . hered . Caroli . dni . Powes . aceciam . filia . et . vna . hered . honorabilissime . d'ne . Marchie . et . vxor . famosissimo . Milit[i . Johanni . Typtoft . que . obijt . xx]ij° . die Septe'ber . A° . d'ni . M . cccc . xlvj . cuius . anime . et . omniu' . fideliu' defunctor' . Ihs' . pro . sva . sacratissima . passione . misereat.

The words and letters within brackets are given from Gough.*

* *Sepul. Mon.* ii. pp. 136—141. On the 23rd of October, 1788, Gough paid a visit to Enfield church for the purpose of "examining" the tomb of Lady Tiptoft, and searching in the vault beneath it for her remains. He has given a minute description both of the monument itself and of this most improper search. The vault had been previously opened, and evidently for the purpose of successive interments. Gough mentions that in 1789, during repairs, a stone, having carved on it the date A.D. 1531, in Arabic numerals, was discovered built into the east battlements of the vestry: this may, perhaps, give the period at which the second monumental structure, described in the text, was erected.

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The tomb upon which this Brass rests, exhibits the architectural features prevalent in the monumental works of the period: it is well executed, having its sides enriched with the customary panel-work; each of the four panels on either side contains within its eight-foil cusping a shield now plain.

About eighty years after the erection of this tomb with its Brass to Lady Tiptoft, a massive canopy of masonry, with a depressed four-centred arch and a square heading surmounted by a crest of Tudor-flower, was built up so as to cover both tomb and Brass, and to fill the opening of the chancel pier-arch; and this second monumental work was in part raised *upon* the upper and lower extremities of the engraven plates of the original inscription, which are thus still covered by the masonry. Gough tells us that (in 1788) he caused the plinth at the foot of one of the jambs of this arch to be removed, when he was enabled to read the portion of the inscription thus revealed; this masonry was then restored, and the inscription is consequently now interrupted in two places.

The spandrels of this canopy have each a large shield, and at the point of the arch there is sculptured an achievement of arms. This last bears, *quarterly*, first and fourth, *Gules, three water bougets argent*, for DE ROS; and second and third, *Argent, a fess between two bars gemelles gules*, for BADLESMERE. The crest is *a peacock in its pride*. The spandrel-shield, toward the east, exhibits eight quarterings, or rather, it bears LOVELL and MUSWELL *quarterly, impaling* DE ROS, HOLLAND, TIPTOFT, and BADLESMERE. The other spandrel-shield bears DE ROS, HOLLAND, TIPTOFT, and BADLESMERE *quarterly*. The arms of LOVELL are,—*Or, a chevron azure between three squirrels sejant gules;* and those of MUSWELL, —*Vert, two chevronels argent, each charged with three cinquefoils gules.*

We have, in this canopy, a remarkable instance of the appropriation of a monument to purposes of memorial not contemplated at the period in which it was originally erected. It is impossible now to determine how far the later work was here intended to affect the commemorative object of the original monument. The design may have been simply to include in the monument to Lady Tiptoft a memorial of some of her descend-

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ants; or, an absolute reappropriation of the monument may have been intended, as the memorial of such descendant or descendants, to the exclusion of Lady Tiptoft herself. The latter supposition might be supported by a numerous series of examples. Blomfield evidently considered the entire tomb to commemorate Isabel, wife of Sir Thomas Lovell, K.G. and granddaughter of Lady Tiptoft; and Peter le Neve, as Gough has observed, was led to adopt the same opinion.* It is very probable, however, from the arms introduced into the canopy and already described, that this addition to the original tomb was constructed with the view to render it a family monument, and specially in order to commemorate both Lady Lovell and her brother Edmund, Lord de Ros, who died A.D. 1508, and was buried at Enfield.

Joice Cherlton, the younger of two sisters, daughters and coheiresses of Edward Cherlton, fourth Baron Cherlton of Powys, was born A.D. 1404, the 6th of Henry IV.; her mother was Alianore, daughter of Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent, and widow of Roger Mortimer, fourth Earl of March. She married Sir John Tiptoft, who, in 1426, was summoned to Parliament as a Baron, and to whom she brought a rich inheritance. In 1446 she died, having survived her husband three years: she left one son and four daughters. Her husband, John, Lord Tiptoft, was a faithful adherent of the House of Lancaster, and was employed constantly on important services for the crown during the reigns of Henry IV. and Henry V., and until his own decease in the reign of Henry VI. He bore the offices of Chief Butler of England, Treasurer of the Royal Household, Seneschal of Aquitaine, President of the King's Exchequer in Normandy, and Treasurer of that Duchy; and he was subsequently appointed Chief Steward of the Royal Castles and Lordships throughout Wales and the Marches. Lord Tiptoft, at the time of his death, was seized of the manor and castles of Burwell in Cambridgeshire, and of Enfield and Shepperton in Middlesex. A part of the manor of Enfield (held formerly by the de Bohuns), passed to the Tiptofts

* Blomfield's *Norfolk* (8vo ed.) i. 324. I cannot point out an error in this careful and discriminating topographer, without observing that in his pages errors are "few and far between."

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by the marriage of Lord Tiptoft's father with Agnes, sister of Sir John Wrothe.

John Tiptoft, only son of Lord Tiptoft and Joice Lady Tiptoft his wife, was born in 1428, and on attaining to his majority was created Earl of Worcester. As had been the case with his father, many high offices in the state were entrusted to his charge; but the more important of these he received from a sovereign of the House of York. In 1457 he was Lord Deputy of Ireland, and in 1461 Justice of North Wales. Shortly after he was appointed Constable of the Tower of London, and Treasurer of the Exchequer. By Edward IV. he was advanced to be Chancellor and Lieutenant of Ireland; and finally he received the old de Bohun office of CONSTABLE OF ENGLAND. This nobleman was further distinguished as one of the most accomplished and elegant scholars of his day; he had been educated at Baliol College, Oxford, and he subsequently travelled through various countries, visiting Jerusalem, where he remained for a considerable time, and returning to England by way of Rome. The brief revival of the Lancasterian ascendency, which restored Henry VI. for a few months to the throne, proved fatal to the Yorkist Earl of Worcester. He was beheaded on Tower-hill A.D. 1470. Leland describes the circumstances of his death, and Fuller adds the following remark to his notice of the same event:—"The axe thus did at one blow cut off more learning than was left in the heads of all the surviving nobility." As a consequence of his execution, all the honours of the Earl became forfeited. He was three times married: his first wife was Cicely, daughter of Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury, and widow of Henry, Duke of Warwick: his second wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Greyndour, Esquire; and after her death, he married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Hoptoun, Esquire, and widow of Sir Roger Corbet, Kt. county Salop. By his second marriage the Earl had one son, who died in his infancy: his only other child was the son of his third marriage, Edward Tiptoft, who was restored in blood and honours by Edward IV. He died unmarried, A.D. 1485, when his earldom of Worcester became extinct, and the second barony of Tiptoft fell into abeyance amongst the representatives of his aunts, his father's sisters.

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The eldest of these ladies, Philippa Tiptoft, was married to Thomas, tenth Baron de Ros, of Hamlake.

Joane Tiptoft, her sister, was married first to Sir Edward Inglethorpe, and afterwards to Thomas, Lord Grey, of Rugemont; she died A.D. 1494, leaving issue.*

Joice Tiptoft, the third sister, was the wife of Sir Edmund Sutton, eldest son of John fourth Baron Dudley; and by this marriage she was the mother of John fifth Baron Dudley (ancestor of the Lords Dudley and Ward), and of Alianore, third wife of Charles Somerset, K.G. who, in 1513, was created Earl of Worcester, and from whom this earldom has descended to the Dukes of Beaufort.

The fourth sister, Margaret, was a nun.

Thomas, Lord de Ros, who married the eldest daughter of Lord and Lady Tiptoft, was descended from an ancient and noble race.† His ancestor, Robert de Ros, of Furfan (whose effigy is now in the Temple church),‡ was, with Henry de Bohun, one of the twenty-five Barons who undertook to enforce the observance of MAGNA CHARTA. The grandson of this Robert, feudal Lord of Belvoir, was summoned to Parliament as Baron de Ros. His descendant William, the fourth Baron, was at

* Blomfield's *Norfolk*, vii. 127. Her only daughter by her first marriage was the wife of John Neville, K.G. Marquess Montacute: she had a numerous issue.

† In Ely cathedral, in the aisle to the south of the choir, there is a canopied monument, with the effigies of a knight and of two ladies, which are said to represent John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, and two of his wives; it is, however, by no means certain that one of the female figures (now much mutilated) was originally intended to form a member of the group. The knight, whose basinet is encircled by a coronet, bears the Tiptoft arms upon his jupon and shoulder-guards, and also upon a small shield depending from his tilting-helm: and he wears the collar of SS. The Earl of Worcester was buried in London, and this monument was certainly erected some years before his death: but even then he would scarcely have placed upon his own effigy the ensign of the party to which he was so warmly opposed. I prefer to consider this to be the monument of the Earl's father, the Lancastrian Baron Tiptoft, with his wife Joice Cherlton—the same lady who was afterwards commemorated by the Brass at Enfield.

‡ Figured by Stothard, and in the *Temple Church Effigies* of Edward Richardson.

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Cresci, where he fought in the same division with the Earl of Hereford. Thomas de Ros himself died A.D. 1461, having suffered the penalty of an act of attainder, as the consequence of his fidelity to the House of Lancaster. His son, Edmund de Ros, obtained a reversal of the attainder, in the 1st of Henry VII.; but he died unmarried A.D. 1508. After this the Barony passed to the nephew of the last Baron, Sir George Manners, son of Alianore de Ros, who had been married to Sir Robert Manners, K.G. This Sir George married Anne, niece of Edward IV.; and their son, Sir Thomas Manners, K.G. thirteenth Baron de Ros, was created Earl of Rutland; and from him (who died in 1543), by his marriage with Alianore the daughter of Sir William Paston,* the Dukes of Rutland and the Lords de Ros derive their descent.

Isabel, the younger daughter of Thomas, Lord de Ros, was married, first, to Sir Thomas Grey, of Werke, and secondly, to Sir Thomas Lovell, K.G.; but she died without issue.

The ancestors of Sir John Tiptoft sat in Parliament, as Barons of the realm, during three generations; but their Barony fell into abeyance A.D. 1372, amongst the three daughters of Robert the third Baron. Sir Pain Tiptoft, father to Sir John, was younger brother to this Robert; they were sons of another John, the second Baron, who married Margaret, daughter of Bartholomew Lord Badlesmere; this lady's sister Elizabeth was the wife of William de Bohun, Earl of Northampton; and thus (see *suprà*, p. 94) the husband of the noble lady commemorated by the Brass at Enfield, and the noble lady herself who is commemorated by the Brass in Westminster Abbey, were second cousins. The first John Tiptoft was the son of Sir Pain Tiptoft or Tibetot, who was summoned to Parliament on the accession of Edward II. He married Agnes or Anne, daughter of William, Lord de Ros, of Hamlake, and was the son of Robert de Tibetot, a companion in arms of Edward I. in Palestine, by his marriage with Eve, daughter of Payne de Chaworth.

In the reign of Edward I. Sir Alan de Cherlton, of Appleby

* This celebrated person died A.D. 1551, and was buried in Shoreditch church, in the city of London.

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Castle, county Salop, Kt., left two sons, of whom Alan, the younger, was the ancestor of the Charltons of Ludford, and the elder John de Cherlton, A.D. 1313, was summoned to Parliament as Baron Cherlton: he had married a Welsh heiress, in whose right he had acquired the feudal Barony of Pole. He was Lord Chamberlain to the King, and took an active part in the wars both in Scotland and France; he also went to Ireland as Lord Justice of that island. His son John, the second Baron, succeeded to his father as Lord Chamberlain, and was in attendance upon the Black Prince in Gascony; he died in 1374, having married Joane, daughter of Ralph first Earl of Stafford. His eldest son, John de Cherlton, married Maud, daughter of the celebrated Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, but died without issue, A.D. 1400. He was succeeded by his brother Edward, the fourth Baron, who, like his brother and father, was summoned to Parliament as Baron "de Cherlton de Powys." By his marriage with Alianore Holland he had two daughters, his co-heiresses, between whom, on his decease in 1422, his Barony fell in abeyance. Alianore Holland was the widow of Roger Mortimer, fourth Earl of March, and grand-daughter of Joane Plantagenet of Kent, who was grand-daughter to Edward I. Joice, the younger daughter of Edward Lord Cherlton of Powys, was married to Lord Tiptoft, and to her memory the Brass at Enfield was laid down. Her elder sister, Joane Cherlton, became the wife of Sir John Grey, of Berwyke, co. Northumberland, K.G. who, A.D. 1418, was created Earl of Tankerville in Normandy, and in 1421 was killed near the castle of Beaufort, with the Duke of Clarence and many other English noblemen and knights. The earldom of Tankerville became extinct in the 38th of Henry VI. by the attainder of Richard the third Earl, the grandson of Sir John Grey. The son of this Richard, however, a second John Grey, was summoned to Parliament in 1482, as Baron Grey of Powys. This Barony, as Sir Harris Nicolas has shown in his able *Synopsis of the Peerage*, was evidently a new creation, under the new title of "Grey de Powys," and not the old Barony of "Cherlton de Powys," to which John Grey is by some writers considered to have succeeded on the attainder of John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester; consequently the Barony of "Cherlton de

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Powys" appears to be still in abeyance.* John Grey, the third of the name, succeeded to his father as second Baron, and he married Margaret, daughter of Edmund Sutton, Lord Dudley (*suprà*, p. 102), by his second marriage with Maud, daughter of Thomas, Lord de Clifford. To this John succeeded his son, Sir Edward Grey, who, in 1552, died without lawful issue. His wife was the Lady Anne Brandon, daughter of Charles, Duke of Suffolk. At the death of the third Baron, the Barony of Grey de Powys fell into abeyance, but between whom it yet remains undetermined.

I have already shown that two personages of great importance in the foregoing memoir, both of them heroes of Cresci, married two sisters, daughters of the illustrious but unfortunate Baron, Bartholomew de Badlesmere. A comrade of William de Bohun and John de Tiptoft at Cresci, William Lord de Ros, was the son of a third sister, Margeria, wife of another William, third Lord de Ros. And the fourth and eldest sister, Matilda de Badlesmere, was the wife of another nobleman, who also did good service at the same glorious battle: he bore a name highly honoured amongst the Peers of England—John de Vere, Earl of Oxford; he was nephew and successor to Robert de Vere, sixth Earl of Oxford and seventh Lord Great Chamberlain, and grandson to Robert de Vere, the fifth Earl, who was himself grandson of another Robert de Vere, third Earl of Oxford, one of the twenty-five Barons of MAGNA CHARTA.† Like so many other time-honoured dignities, the Earldom of Oxford has become extinct, and the Barony of Badlesmere is yet in abeyance: but the names of de Vere and de Badlesmere, with those of de Bohun, de Stafford, de Mortimer, de Ros, Holland, Fitzalan, Mowbray, de Cherlton, Manners, Grey, Tiptoft, and very many more, will be remembered so long as England possesses any record of times long passed away, or numbers amongst her living children those who delight to investigate her chronicles and to read the story of her historical monuments.

* See Collins on *Baronies*, p. 396, &c.; and Burke's *Extinct Peerage*, pp. 120 and 239.

† The noble but grievously mutilated effigy at Hatfield Broadoak in Essex, is probably the memorial of the fifth, and not the third Earl as supposed by Weaver: it is admirably figured in *Stothard*.

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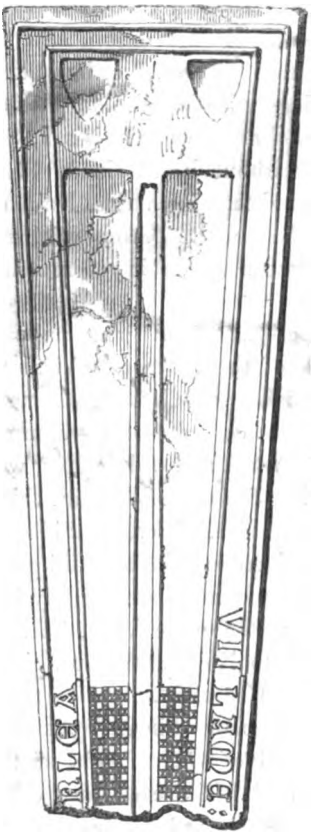

Remains of De Valence Slab.

In Westminster Abbey, in the pavement of the Chapel of the Confessor, and partly covered by the first of the steps which lead eastwards to the tomb of King Henry V., there lies a coffin-shaped slab, which shows upon its long-worn surface certain slight indications of having been once enriched with a Cross-Brass and other decorative accessories. The attention of Mr. G. G. Scott (now, fortunately, architect to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster) having been recently directed to this slab, the stone step which had been placed over its base was by his direction removed; it thus became apparent that the lower-most part of the slab had been broken away, but that the step had preserved about nine and a half inches of it in its original condition. On this portion of the slab there remains a part of the shaft of the cross in brass, with similar portions of the narrow fillets which inclosed the border-inscription of single Lombardic capitals, and eight of these letters, four on each side of the stone; also, between the central shaft and the border fillets, the greater part of the surface of the stone is covered with an incrustation of glass-mosaic in gold, crimson, and white, still in excellent preservation. This discovery satisfactorily explains the entire original composition.

I am not aware of the existence of any similar application of this peculiar enrichment to monumental slabs: in this instance, indeed, it would seem to have been an experiment, made by the artists employed in producing the mosaic decorations of the shrine

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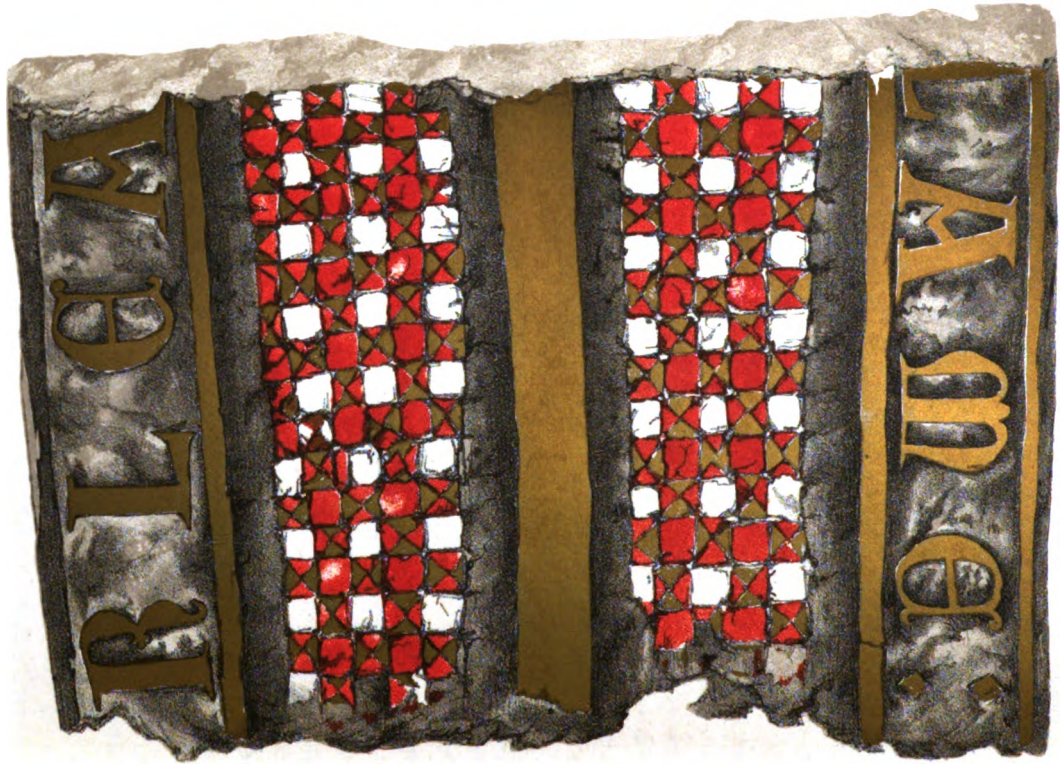

A PORTION OF THE MONUMENTAL SLAB
To the Son of William de Valence.
preserved beneath the step leading from the
[illegible] OF MONUMENT OF HENRY V. IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

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of Edward the Confessor and of the tomb of Henry III. Though well adapted to such monumental stones as would be placed upon raised-tombs, mosaic of this class would speedily suffer when exposed to the casualties incidental to a position in a pavement. That style of inlaid-work which forms the pavement of the Confessor's Chapel would be admirably suited for the decoration of pavement-slabs; and it is a subject for surprise that it should not have been used for that purpose.

The arrangement of the tesseræ in this fragment is shewn by the accompanying engravings. The Lombardic letters are very bold and effective, and sharply cut, and they fit their matrices with the most precise exactness. The four letters on the north side are LAME, and they are followed by two lozenge-shaped points: on the other side the four letters are RLEA, and these do not readily suggest the word of which they form components. This slab has been attributed to John, eldest son of William de Valence (himself half-brother, by his mother Isabelle d'Angouleme, to Henry III.), Earl of Pembroke, and of Joan de Montchesney his wife: this John died in his infancy, and Dart informs us that "his father procured for all such as should devoutly pray for his soul, indulgence for 160 days:"* this circumstance was, doubtless, recorded in the inscription. I reserve until some future occasion any further notice of the de Valences and their monuments.

Without being able to assign to this fragment an exact date, I must consider it to have been executed before the Brass to Sir John d'Aubernoun; and, consequently, this is the earliest portion of a Brass now known to be in existence.†

* Dart, ii. p. 41. Possibly the letters RLEA in the inscription may have formed part of the name DE VARLEANCE.

† In further illustration of this paper, I have been permitted to place amongst the MS. collections of our Society a series of genealogies of the families of de Bohun, de Mandeville, de Brewys, Fitzalan, de Mortimer, de Valence, de Stafford, Bourchier, de Cherlton, Tiptoft, de Holland, and others; these genealogies are accompanied with heraldic, historical, and miscellaneous notices, also with a list of remarkable monuments to distinguished members of these families.

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APPENDIX.

Upon the opposite page I have placed four SHIELDS OF ARMS (figures 1, 2, 3, 4) from the de Bohun Brass, and three (figures 5, 6, 7) from that at Enfield; and with the shields themselves I have associated those parts of the canopies of the two Brasses from which they are severally suspended; my object has been thus to show the contrast in artistic feeling between two works which, in their general treatment, exhibit so many points of resemblance. I would particularly direct attention to the heraldic drawing of the lions at the two periods of the close of the fourteenth century and the middle of the fifteenth century. Shield No. 1 is *Woodstock;* No. 2 is *Woodstock* impaling *de Bohun*, which quarters *Hereford;* No. 3 is *de Bohun* impaling *Fitzalan*, which quarters *Warren;* No. 4 is *Hereford;* No. 5 is *Tiptoft* impaling *Cherlton de Powys;* No. 6 is *Cherlton de Powys* quartering *Holland;* and No. 7 is *Cherlton de Powys*. I have given the full blazon of these shields at pages 72—74 and 97.

Many SEALS of the de Bohuns have been preserved, and they all are highly interesting. The seal of the Duchess Alianore herself is very remarkable; the legend encircles the figure of a boat upon the sea, in which stands an angel holding an oblong panel bearing the arms of *Bohun*, upon which is charged a lozenge displaying *Woodstock* impaling *de Bohun;* two swans sit at the stern and the head of the boat. The seal of the Duke her husband is appended to the Foundation of Plessey College, in Essex; it is circumscribed with the legend: + Sig . thome . filii . regis . anglie . ducis . glocestrie . comit . essexie . et . buk . ac . constabul . anglie; within this, on a field richly diapered with swans and feathers, is the armed figure of the Duke on his barded charger. The crest on the helm is a *lion of England*, which is differenced by a *bar argent*.* Another seal of this prince is charged with his helmet and crest, his shield of arms suspended upon the stock of a tree (his rebus was a *wood-stock*), on either side of which is a shield of Milo, Earl of Hereford, and at its roots two swans.† His secretum—a small and very beautiful seal—has the legend, s . thome . ducis . glocestrie, which is so arranged as to appear to bind together three small circles: of these, the uppermost contains the crest of the Duke; that to the dexter encloses his own shield of arms; and within the sinister circle is a shield, charged with *de Bohun* quartering *Hereford;* in the spandrel in base there is a swan, and the same figure may possibly have been introduced into the

* Archæologia, xxxi. 364.

† Journal of Archæol. Association, vi. 378.

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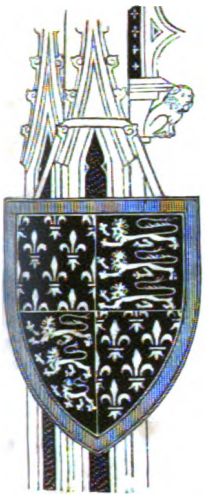

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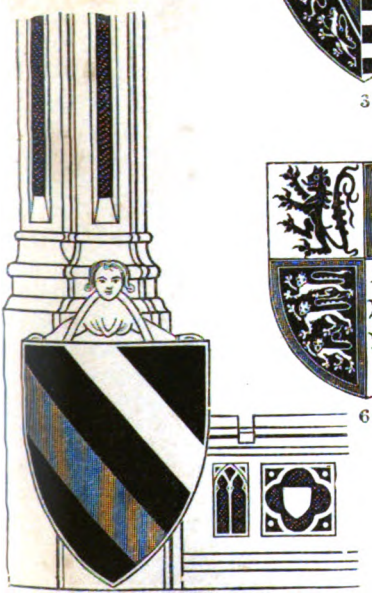

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7

SHIELDS OF ARMS IN THE DE BOHUN AND TIPTOFT BRASSES.

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two other spandrels also.* Thomas de Woodstock does not appear to have borne any arms for his earldom of Essex.

The seal of the College of Plessey, founded by Thomas Duke of Gloucester and Alianore his Duchess, is in form a pointed oval; it contains, in chief, in the three compartments of a rich tabernacled canopy, the emblem of the Holy Trinity between two angels, who bow down in adoration; in fess, the figures of the Duke and Duchess appear, kneeling, and supporting between them a model of a conventual church; in base, beneath the figures, are two shields—that to the dexter bears *Woodstock*, and the other *Woodstock* impaling *de Bohun*; in point, between these shields, is a swan.

I shall here describe one seal only of HENRY IV. the husband of Mary de Bohun. This very fine example exhibits the shield suspended by its sinister angle from the helm, between two tall feathers, which are curiously entwined by ribbons charged with the significant word, **so be rey ne**. The shield itself bears the arms of the Confessor differenced with a label of three points, impaling the arms of Henry of Lancaster himself differenced with the label of five points; and this impaled coat impales *de Bohun*.† This seal appears to have been executed between the months of February and October, in the year 1399, and was affixed to a charter, now in the British Museum (Addit. Chart. 5829), in which the prince is styled "*Henry Duc de Lancastre, Conte de Derby, de Nycole, de Leycestre, de Herford, et de Northampton, seneschal d'Angleterre*:" the legend upon the seal is **s . henrici . de . lancastria . ducis . herefordi . comis . derbie . et . norhampton . dar . brecheniz**. From this it would appear that two of the de Bohun earldoms with their barony passed to the husband of Mary, the younger of the two co-heiresses of the last Humphrey de Bohun. The monument of Mary, Countess of Derby, is supposed still to be preserved in the chapel of Trinity Hospital, Leicester. (See *suprà*, pp. 82, 83.) After his accession, Henry IV. retained the two feathers on his secretum, which is figured in the *Archæologia, vol.* xxxi. *p.* 361. Three seals of the Black Prince also bore feathers.‡

The secretum of Humphrey de Bohun, fourth Earl of Hereford, is figured, with a copy and an illustrative notice of his will, in the Archæological Journal;§ it is small, and bears his arms on a pointed shield within a legend. The seal of this earl is highly interesting and very beautifully executed: he is represented on it mounted upon his charger, which is barded with the arms of Bohun: the legend is S : H : DE : BOHVN : COMITIS : HEREFORD : ET : CONSTABULAR : ANGL : The legend which surrounds the counter-seal is S : HVMPHREDI : DE : BOHVN : COMITIS : HEREFORDIE : ET :

* These seals are figured with tolerable accuracy by Sandford, pp. 125 and 229.

† See Archæologia, xxxi. 365.

‡ See also Vincent, 389; and Journal of Archæol. Association, vi. 374.

§ Vol. ii. p. 342: see also Archæologia, xxi. 196, where the seal of this Earl is described by Sir Harris Nicolas.

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ESSEXIE: I have given figures of the reverses of this seal, and of the seal of John, son of Earl Humphrey, the fifth earl, in order to add further examples of the de Bohun arms, and of the manner in which they were rendered. On either side of the principal shield in these seals is a small shield charged with the arms of *Mandeville*, Earl of Essex, *Quarterly or and gules:* from this arrangement the usage of *Quartering* appears to have been derived. Mr. Planché, in one of his always agreeable as well as always clever papers, derives the de Bohun swan from a *badge* of the Mandevilles; and he adds that the Mandevilles themselves bore this device with the Nevilles, in token of their descent from a common ancestor, Adam de Swanne, or Sweyn, a Dane.*

I have been obliged to give my engraving of the seal of Earl John from an imperfect impression, the date of which is 1327. The swan in the other seal is an early example of the *supporter*, afterwards so important an heraldic accessory. The secretum of the last Earl Humphrey has a swan on either side of the shield, as a supporter. This shield is charged with *de Bohun* impaling *Fitzalan*, which quarters *Warren*, and consequently it resembles shield No. 3 from the Brass to the Duchess Alianore.†

William de Bohun, Earl of Northampton, the father of the last Earl of Hereford, bore on his seal his paternal shield differenced after the following remarkable manner: *Argent, on a bend gules, voided of the field, between six lioncels rampant azure, three stars sable.*

Edmund, fifth Earl of Stafford, who married Anne Plantagenet, daughter of Alianore de Bohun, bore his own arms, *Or, a chevron gules*, impaling *Woodstock* only, and not Woodstock quartering *de Bohun;* but the son of this Earl and Countess, Humphrey, the first Duke of Buckingham, assumed and bore the arms of *Woodstock* only, as appears from a seal of his Duchess Anne, daughter of Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmorland.

This duke, however, appears to have also borne a quartered shield: for, in the monument to Richard Beauchamp Earl of Warwick, at Warwick, two of the "weepers" represent the Duke of Buckingham and Anne Neville his duchess, and they are accompanied with shields of arms which quarter 1. *Woodstock;* 2 and 3. *de Bohun;* 4. *Stafford:* one shield impales *Neville.*

Those very noble and valuable relics, the Burghersh Monuments in Lincoln Cathedral, contain shields of de Bohun of Hereford, de Bohun of Northampton, de Badlesmere, de Stafford, Tiptoft, de Ros, de Mortimer, de Vere, &c.: here also amongst the "weepers" are figures of William de Bohun Earl of Northampton and Elizabeth his countess, of Margaret wife

* See Journal of Archæol. Association, vi. 384.

† I may here, in a note, supply an omission from the text at page 95, by stating that the father of the Duchess Alianore was buried by the side of his father at Walden; and that her widowed mother long survived her: she died A.D. 1419, having been a special benefactress to the Abbey of Walden, where, after the early death of her husband, she chiefly resided, and occupied her time with religious exercises.

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COUNTER SEAL OF HUMPHREY DE BOHUN,
4TH EARL OF HEREFORD, AND 3RD EARL OF ESSEX.

COUNTER SEAL OF JOHN DE BOHUN,
5TH EARL OF HEREFORD, AND 4TH EARL OF ESSEX.

To face p 110.

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of John Lord Tiptoft, and of several other persons mentioned in the foregoing memoir.

With reference to the assumption of a maternal coat of arms by the Dukes of Buckingham, Sandford quotes a curious and important memorandum from the records of the Heralds' College, to the effect following:—"*That in the reign of our Sovereign Lord, King Edward IV., the thirteenth year of his reign, on the 18th day of February, it was concluded in a chapter of the Office of Arms,—That where a nobleman is descended lineally hereditable to three or four coats, and afterwards is ascended to a coat near to the King and of his Royal Blood, he may for his most honour bear the same coat alone, and no lower coat of dignity to be quartered therewith: as my Lord Henry, Duke of Buckingham, Earl of Hereford, Northampton, and Stafford, Lord of Brecknock and of Holderness, is ascended to the coat and array of Thomas de Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, son to King Edward III., he may bear his coat alone.*" "Nevertheless," adds Sandford, "the right high and mighty prince, Edward, Duke of Buckingham, Earl of Hereford, Stafford, and Northampton (for so is he styled in the Indenture, dated 17th February, tenth Henry VIII.), did bear upon his seal four coats quarterly:—1. *Woodstock;* 2. *Bohun, Earl of Hereford;* 3. *Bohun, Earl of Northampton;* 4. *Stafford,* his paternal coat" from the Staffords; his shield, accordingly, "contained the arms of his dukedom and his three earldoms."* From these passages it would certainly appear that the lapsed de Bohun earldoms had revived in the persons of their descendants, the de Staffords: in this case, the time-honoured de Bohun earldoms are now extinct, only so far as they were affected by the unjust Act of Attainder of 1521. The silver matrix of the seal of Milo of Gloucester and Hereford was found about sixty years since near Luggershall, Wilts: it bears the figure of the baron armed and mounted, and much resembles the seal of Rufus; the hawberk, however, is longer, and to the lance a large lance-flag is attached: the legend is + SIGILLVM : MILONIS : DE : GLOECESTRIA. It is probable that this seal was engraved before Milo had established himself at Hereford. This seal is figured and noticed in the *Archæologia, vol.* xiv. *p.* 276; also *vol.* xxi. *p.* 554.

For some equally interesting and valuable remarks upon the eventful history of the Dukes of Buckingham of the House of Stafford, together with some important illustrations of the agitated period in which they lived, I refer to a paper by the truly eminent archæologist and accomplished scholar J. H. Markland, Esq., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., of Bath, which was read at Oxford on the occasion of the Congress of the Archæological Institute held in that city, and is printed in the Journal of the Institute for the year 1851, at page 259: this paper is entitled "Some Remarks on the Rent-Roll of Humphrey Duke of Buckingham, 26th and 27th of Henry VI., A.D. 1447, 1448." I must also here specially refer to a paper in the *Archæologia* (vol. xxv. pp. 323—341), which contains a series of

* Sandford, p. 234.

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curious and highly instructive "Extracts from the Household Book o Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham," who was beheaded in 1521, witl a letter commenting thereon by John Gage, Esq., and a "Summary" b; Lord Bagot. The *Archæologia* also contains (vol. xxxii. p. 60) a lette: from the late Dean of Hereford, Dr. Merewether, describing the discover; of the coffin containing the remains of Joan de Bohun beneath her monumental effigy, during restorations lately in progress in Hereford Cathedral This lady is described as having been the heiress of Kilpec, in Herefordshire, and to have died A.D. 1327, having been a great benefactress to Hereford Cathedral: she appears to have been the widow of a son of the fourth Earl of Hereford.

The Office of Constable of England,

held during such a long period by the de Bohuns, was invested with great powers, and in itself constituted a high rank and dignity. Thus, in the fiftieth of Edward III., Thomas de Woodstock sat in the Parliament at Westminster by the title only of Constable. With the Earl Marshal, the Constable was judge *in curiâ militari*, and the fountain and arbiter of martial law; he held his court *in aulâ regis*; and his great powers had both a very widely extended range and a directly practical application. The office appears to have been in existence before the Conquest: shortly after the Norman era it became hereditary, and was held by grand serjeanty by the de Bohuns, and (with certain interruptions) by the de Staffords as their heirs general. In the thirteenth of Richard II. the authority and jurisdiction of the Constable was specifically defined.* The office became extinct in 1521, under the attainder of the Duke of Buckingham. There were also officers who bore the distinct titles of Constable for Normandy and for Ireland. Thus the Brass to Sir Thomas le Straunge at Willesburne, Warwick, declares him to have been "nuper Constabularius Regis in Hibernia:" and the seals of William de Humet, father and son, style them Constables of the King of England in Normandy.† In France the office of Constable continued in existence until about the year 1630, when it was finally suppressed by Louis XIII.

* See also *Rymer*, vol. iii. part 3, p. 60, and part 4 of that vol., p. 162; and for further particulars respecting the office of Constable, see Hearne's Collections, ii. pp. 77, 81.

† See Gough, ii. 73, and Archæologia, xxxv. 493.

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RECOLLECTIONS OF WESTMINSTER.

BY HENRY MOGFORD, ESQ. F.S.A.

[Read at the Third General Meeting, held in the French Gallery, 121, Pall Mall, February 26, 1856.]

THE few remarks which I now propose to make have reference chiefly to reminiscences of my early days—a period in which archæology, as a pursuit or as a science, was scarcely known by its own proper designation.

In the Abbey and Hall of Westminster we possess two of the noblest architectural monuments in Europe, each of them unsurpassed by any other structure of similar character, and both replete with associations of the utmost interest and importance. My remembrance of that grandest and most spacious of Gothic halls, Westminster Hall, dates prior to its repair and the partial restoration of the northern façade. At that period I perfectly remember that four of the lower range of niches on the western tower facing New Palace Yard were filled with statues. These, having been removed, have never been replaced, and, from the length of time which has elapsed since their removal, it is much to be feared that they have been destroyed: certainly no traces of them have been discovered. Had they been too much dilapidated to admit of reparation, they would at least have served as models from which to create others to replace them. Although by no means an advocate for modern additions to early works, yet as the new Palace of Parliament exhibits all the numerous niches which are scattered over its surface, filled with statues, it would be in harmony with the entire mass of the buildings if this completeness were carried out in the great front entrance to Westminster Hall; and this appears to be the more desirable since now we have artists able to design, and carvers in stone fully competent to execute, statues in such a style of art as would be consistent with the architecture of the building.

At the foot of the steps within the hall there recently stood two cylindrical stone pedestals of considerable dimensions. One had sculptured upon it the armorial ensigns of John Stafford, Lord Treasurer from 1422 to 1424, with his name, titles, and

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date in Gothic characters: the corresponding pedestal, similarly inscribed, bore the arms of Ralph, Lord Boteler of Surrey, Treasurer of the Exchequer in 1433. I have taken these inscriptions from Pennant's London, not having copied them myself. These pedestals, with the original steps, have been removed, and in their place, at the base of the new grand flight of steps, two plain pedestals have been erected, surmounted with wooden lamp-posts, each bearing a cluster of gas-jets. As these lamp-posts can only be temporary, it would be gratifying to learn that the early pedestals will resume their former position in the hall, when the internal arrangements and decorations of this magnificent apartment shall be completed. The removal of them has been so recent that doubtless they are preserved, and under the direction of Sir Charles Barry we may certainly hope for their future preservation in the right place.

Pennant, in his account of London, speaking of the passage leading from the hall up these steps to the corridor of the House of Commons, says, "In the passage stood the famous bust of Charles I. by Bernini, made by him from a painting by Vandyke done for the purpose." This painting is now in the Vandyke room at Windsor Castle, and it represents the king in profile, three quarters, and full face. Before the removal of the courts of Chancery and of the King's Bench (which were on either side of this flight of steps), and before the construction of the new law courts by Sir John Soane, there certainly stood in my remembrance a bust of King Charles I. apparently of bronze, over the doorway at the head of the ascent. Whether or not this was the original bust by Bernini there appears to be but little means for ascertaining. Pennant must have believed it to have been the original, since he has given an engraving of it at page 126 of his book. It probably passed surreptitiously, like many other neglected objects of historical interest and value, into private hands, where such objects were better appreciated in those days.

Much as we have to regret the losses occasioned by the great fire in 1833, which destroyed the Houses of Parliament, we may congratulate ourselves on its having spared the glorious old hall, the crypt of St. Stephen's chapel, and the beautiful cloisters. A proposal has recently been made to raise the roof of Westminster

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Hall: I do hope, however, that the public voice will second the efforts of all true antiquaries, and all admirers of mediæval architecture, to denounce and also to frustrate any such violation of the original design, and to preserve intact and perfect, as the great fire spared it, this grand monument of our forefathers.

The portion of the Palace of Westminster destroyed by the fire had undergone so much mutilation that little more than the mere walls existed on this occurrence. In the year 1800, when, on the Union, it became necessary to provide accommodation for the Irish members of the House of Commons, I remember seeing Smith, the author of the "Antiquities of Westminster," making drawings of the fine paintings then discovered in the midst of the dust and confusion occasioned by their ruthless destruction. In the work which he published on this subject, Smith cites a number of extracts from the public records relating to the building of St. Stephen's Chapel by Edward III., and regrets that he did not discover among them the name of the architect of this unique and splendid edifice. There has been recently found among the Exchequer Records an indenture, dated in the tenth year of the reign of Edward III., between the governor of Carisbrook Castle and the King's architect, who is here named WILLIAM DE MALTON.* This William may have been the architect of St. Stephen's Chapel, and not William of Wykeham as Smith supposes. There has also been found among these records a letter addressed by William of Wykeham to the Sheriff of Shrewsbury, which explains in what manner workmen were obtained for building purposes. The writer thanks the Sheriff for having sent by a messenger ten good and sufficient masons, and, discharging him from this duty, adds that if the Sheriff of Shrewsbury continues as he has begun he will greatly please the King.†

* "Hec Indent'a fact' int' Joh'em de Langeford Constabular' Cast' de Caresbrouk et Will'm de Malton Archatorem d'ni R' ex p'te una et Will'm de Kekenwych sup'visorem op'ris in d'c'o Castro assignat' ex p'te alt'a testat' de d'vis' expens' fact' a Sp'ngal Arblast' et alia d'visa Ingenia facie—in d'c'o Castro, virtute l'rar' d'ni R' de Sigillo secreto de Griffone, vid't. a festo S'c'i Mich'is anno regni Reg' E. t'cij post conquestu' x^mo finiente: usq' f'm S'c'e Margarete p'x' sequens."

† "Tresch' amy veullez savoir q' jay resu du portour de icestes x masons

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The Exchequer Records are documents of the highest historical interest: yet they seem to have been so little cared for that, when the re-construction of the Court of Exchequer took place, a considerable number of the parchment rolls are supposed to have been purloined by the labourers, and by them sold to be converted into size. These Records were first placed in a wooden shed, built inside Westminster Hall; thence they were removed to the King's Mews; and, finally, they were stowed away at Carlton Ride, the documents of all dates and various kinds being thrust, in the utmost confusion, into about 600 large sacks, which they completely filled.

Unfortunately, when any of the changes exacted by circumstances occurred in the Houses of Parliament, not the slightest care seems to have been taken of any object, however interesting, which it might be necessary to displace from its position. Thus, a portion of the tapestry, that could not be adapted to the House of Lords, was *lost:* and so, again, when the Painted Chamber was adapted for the sittings of the Peers, the carved panels which formed its roof were thrown into a cellar. The workmen were permitted to distribute to casual visitors, for small sums of money, portions of various remains which had been in this manner left at their disposal.

The old Exchequer buildings, fronting New Palace Yard, were necessarily removed previous to the rebuilding the Houses of Parliament. A very beautiful and characteristic Elizabethan chimney-piece, in the principal apartment, was at this time sold by public auction; it was saved by being purchased by Lord Sudeley, who, I believe, also bought at this sale the timber tracery of the ceiling, which was ornamented with the Tudor devices, the portcullis, rose, &c. This principal room bore the traditional appellation of the "Star Chamber," for the origin of which title many ingenious surmises have been given by the learned in legal history. I cannot refrain from expressing a wish

bones et suffisants p' quei le dit porto^{r} este descharge issuit q^{d} si vous patez come vous avez comensets vous auera g'unt gre de n're s^{r} le Roi. Tsch' amy, le tout puissaunt vous octroit bone vie et longe. Escrit a Wydesore en t's g'unt hast le xxme jour de Juyn. P' W. DE WYKEHAM.

"A mon t's ch' amy Johan de Whittan, Viscount de Shrosbury."

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that these architectural relics had been retained as national property, and had been appropriated to some apartment in the new edifice. The elaborate cloisters on the eastern side of Westminster Hall were condemned to destruction at the same time, and were only preserved from the workman's pick-axe by the active personal interference and the energy of Mr. Sidney Taylor, then the chief editor of the Morning Herald newspaper.

Concerning Westminster Abbey, I have only to express the gratification we all must feel, that its preservation is confided to hands in which it is for the future in perfect safety; and to add a wish that whatever early relics may have been preserved will, like the iron screen-work to one of the royal tombs, in due course reappear and resume their proper positions. In my boyhood Henry the Seventh's Chapel was protected externally by only a few wooden upright posts and cross rails of the same material: and, at this period, so little attention was bestowed upon this remarkable structure from without, and such was the neglect which it experienced internally from the officials, that my schoolfellows used occasionally to climb up on the outside by the waterpipes and pick pieces of stained glass from the windows. Upon the north side of this chapel a row of mean brick habitations existed, leaving a narrow opening by the side of the transept. Here is the low window of a small chapel. At the period I speak of, this window was completely denuded of all glazing between the mullions, while on the floor of the chapel itself were strewed various pieces of armour, consisting of helmets, breastpieces, gauntlets, &c.; the whole formed about twelve complete suits which, by a vulgar tradition of the locality, were named "Oliver Cromwell's ragged regiment." If these pieces of armour have been preserved, it would be of great interest to have them suitably placed either within the Abbey itself or in the Chapter House, when the latter building shall have been cleared by the removal of the records to the New Record Office. Great facilities remain for the complete restoration of this most interesting and beautiful edifice to its original condition, as has been so ably shewn in detail by Mr. G. G. Scott; the central shaft, which once supported the vaulted ceiling, still remains; the pavement of encaustic tiles has happily been preserved in safety, beneath

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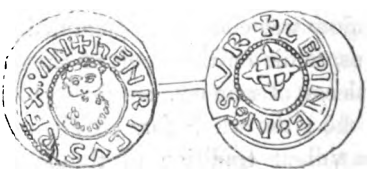
the flooring of timber which has covered it; and the wooden depositories of the records have saved, while they shut out from view, many highly important works of early pictorial art and other accessories of this remarkable chamber.

Among the relics of an early period which yet remain in Westminster but are comparatively but little known, is a range of chambers, with groined roofings of stone, at the Pells Office in Whitehall Gardens, which probably form a portion of the ancient palace of Whitehall. Part of the external wall of these remains is still visible opposite the statue of James II. to the rear of the Banqueting House.

I conclude by noticing the sad neglect and mutilation into which the statue of Queen Anne, in Queen Square, has been permitted to fall; it claims attention for its future preservation, since it appears to be coeval with the erection of the adjacent houses, which exhibit in their door-frames some bold and excellent carving of their age.



Penny of Henry I. struck at Sunbury, Middlesex; in the possession of R. Whitbourn, Jun. Esq.

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REMARKS ON SOME LONDON RELICS.

BY SYDNEY SMIRKE, ESQ. A.R.A. F.S.A. &c.

[Read in the French Gallery, Pall Mall, February 26, 1856.]

I HAVE much pleasure in submitting herewith a few antiquarian reliquiæ, chiefly of old London. They will appear, I am afraid, trivial, and scarcely deserving of the attention of this Meeting, but they have certainly an interest in connection with my own particular branch of archæological pursuit, and possess at least the merit of authenticity, for they have been for the most part obtained either by my own hand, or under my own eye.

Of these objects I will proceed to give a brief description.

No. 1 is the leathern sheath of a knife which was found in a crevice of the old masonry of the east wall of Westminster Hall when the more modern ashlared facing was removed, and the old masonry restored in 1835. On that occasion an immense deposit of the bones of poultry and of other small animals, evidences no

Leathern Knife-sheath, found in Westminster Hall.

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doubt of the many regal festivities held in that hall, was found in the crevices of the masonry, dragged in there by rats and mice, and this sheath was probably mistaken by them for something edible. That it has been the property of one of the royal household may be inferred from the fleurs de lys and the lions passant impressed on the surface of it.

No. 2 is a sample of the cloth in which was wrapped one of the bodies of certain knights disinterred when the Temple Church was repaired. The body was in a leaden coffin of high antiquity, of which several were discovered, and which were surmised to have belonged to the well-known carved effiges so ably restored by our Member Mr. Richardson. Time has singularly changed the aspect of this cloth, but I presume that it has been some species of sackcloth: it strongly resembles the material in which two bodies were enveloped that were discovered beneath the pavement of the Chapel Royal of St. James, near the north or altar end of the chapel, when that building was restored about twenty-five years ago.

No. 3 are wooden wedges taken out of the bed-joints of one of the marble pillars in the round nave of the Temple Church. They seemed to have been used to wedge up the stone, when it was laid, to its true level, according to the usual practice of masons at the present day, although a modern mason would be severely reprehended for using a *wooden* wedge for such a purpose.

No. 4 is an iron wedge similarly used, and also obtained from the Round Church. The thickness of these wedges shews that the joints of this masonry, like that of much of the Norman work, were somewhat clumsy, very different from the fine jointing of the masonry usual in the succeeding age.

No. 5 is the base of one of the Norman pillars which were found embedded in the main walls of Westminster Hall when that building was restored in 1835. These pillars formed part of an arcade ornamenting the upper part of the side walls of that hall, the arches being at certain intervals windows, in the manner of a clerestory. Almost all, if not all the bases that I met with had the small angle ornament, a leaf or a claw (or in this case an animal's head), common on Norman bases, occurring also in much

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earlier buildings of the post-Roman period in Italy and elsewhere. An eminent writer and critic of the present day has surmised that this curious feature was introduced by the rude but nervous artists of that time as expressive of firmness, as if the pillar griped, as it were, the base it stood on. I venture however to entertain a doubt whether this quaint device was not purely æsthetic, and adopted as an obvious and effective mode of accommodating the square base to the circular shaft.

No. 6 is a fragment saved from the ruins of St. Stephen's Chapel, on which the original painting and gilding are still perceptible. I submit that it should be among the foremost duties of our long-needed local Society (whose earlier existence would have rescued many a valuable relic now for ever lost to history) to find some safe, permanent, and honourable resting-place for the "old materials" of the extinct monuments of London.

No. 7 is one of the small roses which profusely decorate the ceiling of the Chapel Royal of St. James's: it is of lead, of which metal other of the small enrichments on that ceiling have been made, affording good evidence that plaster decoration had not come into general use in Henry VIII.'s time. The ceiling is, no doubt, well known to most of my hearers; it is coffered and richly painted, and the initial letters H. and A., connected by a true-lover's knot, sufficiently indicate the period of its construction. As the style of this ceiling is Renaissance, and as we know that Holbein, who worked in that style, was in the service of the Crown about this time, I believe we may safely regard this ceiling as a specimen of Holbein's architecture.

I owe you an apology for introducing to your notice No. 8, as it belongs not to Middlesex, but to Suffolk. I adduce it, however, as another evidence that at the last-mentioned period plaster or stucco ceilings had not become general. It is a specimen of a fibrous and somewhat coarse material, of which an ornamented ceiling is made in a house called "Wolsey's house," in Ipswich. I am informed that a very similar substance appears to have been used for a like purpose in Hampton Court Palace. It may be regarded as one of the earliest attempts of our workmen to produce an artificial substitute for wood and stone.

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No. 9 is also an object which I am afraid I am scarcely justified in submitting to you on this occasion, for it comes from York. It is a leaden pin or dowel which secured a butt joint in one of the ribs of the nave vaulting of the Minster, at the point where the original oak ribs sprang from the stone springers. The use of lead for such a purpose, although unknown to modern practice, seems ingenious and worthy of adoption. The lead being run in when fluid, the workman secures without trouble, and with perfect certainty, the exact fitting of the plug to the hole cut to receive it.

I am afraid that this enumeration of small antiquities which I have ventured to submit to you this evening has already occupied more of your time and attention than they merit; but before sitting down I would wish to be permitted, in a few words, to urge antiquaries generally, but more especially those among them who are my professional brethren, and who have therefore frequent occasion to deal with the architectural works of our forefathers, not to overlook these small matters. When scanning the lofty spire, or estimating the static value of the ponderous buttress, let them not pass by those minor contrivances, a few of which I have had the honour to bring to your notice this evening. If not always fraught with instruction, they will never fail to be found interesting.

One of our most eminent living historians, Lord Stanhope, has, on a somewhat similar occasion, made the following true and forcible remarks:—"If on this point I may venture to give you any counsel, it would be this: not to neglect any incident, however slight, however trifling, or unimportant it may appear to you at the time, either in manners or in biography, if by those incidents the accurate facts of the case and the true delineation of character can be brought before you. Do not, from a false idea of the dignity of history, neglect the sources of information most readily accessible and within your reach; for, in my opinion, great characters are often best portrayed by small circumstances."

If this may be said with truth of History, I am sure you will concur with me in thinking that it is equally true of Archæology.

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An apparently very insignificant fact will lead sometimes to very large conclusions. In fossil geology the student knows how much may be learned from a single tooth or a scale; and even from the mere impression of a bird's claw Philosophy has been able to restore a lost page in the history of the creation. So, in our own pursuit, from such trivial objects as I have this evening ventured to bring before you perhaps not unimportant inferences might be drawn.

Leaden Fibula of the Saxon period, in the possession of the Rev. Thomas Hugo.
(Described at p. 143.)

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GRANT OF THE MANOR OF HOLBORN,

TEMP. RIC. II.

WITH SOME NOTES ON THE FAMILY OF THE GRANTOR.

COMMUNICATED BY JAMES CROSBY, ESQ. F.S.A.

I HAVE much pleasure in introducing to the notice of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society a document of considerable interest connected with the descent of a very important portion of that area, for the elucidation of whose history the Society has been established.

It is a grant of the Manor of Holborn, made on the 8th day of July, in the ninth year of the reign of King Richard II., A.D. 1385, by John Le Straunge, Lord of Knokyn, to Richard Earl of Arundel and Surrey, Alina the mother, and Ebulo, or Eubulo, the brother of the grantor. The original has been lent to me by my friend the Rev. L. B. Larking; and I am sure I may be allowed to add that the Society, as well as myself, is under deep obligation to that gentleman for the courtesy with which the relic has been communicated, and for the permission that it should be copied in fac-simile and published in our Transactions.

The grant is as follows, with the MS. contractions supplied, and the original is exactly represented in the annexed lithograph, by the accurate pen of Mr. Netherclift, Sen.

Noverint universi per presentes—cum nuper ego dominus Johannes Lestraunge dominus de Knokyn concesserim per scriptum meum Ricardo Comiti Arundelie et Surrie, Aline Lestraunge matri mee, et Ebuloni Lestraunge fratri meo clerico, manerium meum de Holburne in suburbe Londonie ad terminum vite eorundem. Noveritis me remisisse relaxasse totum jus meum et clamium quod habui in dicto manerio tam in dominico quam in revercione cum omnibus suis pertinenciis pro me et heredibus meis dicto Ricardo Comiti Arundelie, Aline, et Ebuloni, et heredibus predicte Aline in perpetuum. In cujus rei testimonium huic litere sigillum meum apposui. Datum octavo die Julii, anno regni Regis Ricardi Secundi post conquestum nono.

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A seal is appended of red wax, being a shield charged with two lions passant.

I have sketched the following pedigree of the Le Stranges, from John Le Strange, who died A.D. 1310, to John Le Strange, grandson of the grantor of the charter just recited, and have placed a few particulars connected with each of the persons mentioned under their respective names.

John Le Strange, lord of Knokyn, summoned to Parliament as Baron Strange from 29 Dec. 1299, to 12 Dec. 1309; ob. 1310. = Matilda, dau. and heiress of Roger D'Eiville, of Walton D'Eyvill, co. Warwick.

- John Le Strange de Knokyn, summoned to Parliament 16 June, 1311; ob. 1311. = Isolda.
  - John Le Strange, summoned to Parliament from 8 Jan. to 26 July, 1313; ob. 1324 s. p.
  - Roger Le Strange, summoned to Parliament from 25 Feb. 1342 to 10 Mar. 1349; ob. 1349. = Joan, dau. of Oliver de Ingham.
    - Roger Le Strange, summoned to Parliament from 29 Sept. 1355, to 9 Aug. 1382; this nobleman died, Aug. 23, 1382, possessed of one great tenement, with garden and sixteen shops annexed to the same, in the parish of St. Andrew Holborn. Inq. p. m. 6 Ric. II. No. 64. = Alina, dau. of Edmond Earl of Arundel.
      - John Le Strange, Lord of Knokyn, summoned to Parliament from 20 Aug. 1383, to 18 July, 1397; ob. circa 1398. (*Grantor of the charter.*) = Matilda, dau. of John de Mohun.
      - Ebulo.

Constance (1st wife). = Richard Le Strange, summoned to Parliament from 25 Aug. 1404 to 2 Jan. 1449; ob. 1449. 5 Hen. IV. Inq. 49. *Proof of age.* = Elizabeth Cobham (2d wife).

In Dugdale there is some confusion in the two lines of Strange —those of Knokyn and those of Blakmere. It will be seen that the one here given agrees exactly with neither, but it may serve as one step towards elucidating the real pedigree and descent of the estates.

As an appendage to the family history, and as affording a very graphic and interesting illustration of the period, I think I cannot

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do better than furnish the Society, in conclusion, with a copy of an inquisition taken on Saturday, 16th August, 1404, for proof of the age of Richard, the son of the grantor. By a very slight exercise of the imagination it helps us to a vivid picture of an important ceremony, and brings life-like before us several eminent and illustrious personages; the gift to the unconscious infant of a "sword with silver furniture" by the great and warlike Earl of Arundel, and of the gilt cup by the gentle lady, are alike characteristic. I have thought it best to present this document in a literal English translation. The original is at the Tower, No. 49, among the Inquisitions p. m. of 5 Hen. IV.

"Proof of the age of Richard, the son and heir of John Lestraunge, the son of Roger Lestraunge of Knokyn, deceased, made and taken in the Guildhall, London, on Saturday, the morrow of the Assumption of the blessed Virgin Mary, in the 5th year of the reign of King Henry after the Conquest the fourth, before William Askham, mayor of the City of London, and escheator of our Lord the King in the same city, by virtue of a certain writ of our said Lord the King to the said escheator directed, and to this proof attached, by the oaths of Walter Creekes, Thomas White, John Goldesburgh, Henry Anketill, Nicholas Luffenham, John Gole, William Weston, William Rybode, Roger Hillom, John Staunton, John Wolverlee, and Walter Danham, charged and sworn to make the aforesaid proof. Who say upon their oaths that the aforesaid Richard the son and heir of the aforesaid John Lestraunge, son of Roger Lestraunge of Knokyn, was born at London in the parish of St. Bartholomew the Less, in the ward of Broad Street (Bradstrete), and was baptized in the same church on the first day of August, in the 5th year of the reign of our Lord Richard late King of England after the Conquest the second. And they thus say, that on the first day of August last past the aforesaid Richard was of the age of twenty and two years. And it was further asked of the said sworn witnesses how they were sure of the age of the said Richard, after the lapse of so long a time since the day of the birth of the said Richard. Who thereon being severally examined say—namely, the aforesaid Walter Creekes, of the age of sixty years, saith, that he well knoweth of his own knowledge (*bene scit et cognoscit*) the

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age of the said Richard, because he was in the aforesaid church at the time of the baptism of the same Richard, and saw Richard,* at that time Earl of Arundel, the godfather of the aforesaid Richard the son of John, to be there present. And the said Thomas Whyte, of the age of forty and five years, saith, that he well knoweth of his own knowledge the age of the aforesaid Richard the son of John, because on the day of the birth of the said Richard, and on the day of the baptism of the same, he saw in the same church that William de Montacute, then Earl of Salisbury,† was the other godfather of the same Richard there: And the aforesaid John Goldesburgh, of the age of forty and six years, saith, that he well knoweth of his own knowledge the age of the said Richard the son of John, because on the day of the aforesaid birth he came to the aforesaid church in the train of Elizabeth le Despenser,‡ and he there saw that the aforesaid Elizabeth was the godmother of the said Richard the son of John: And the aforesaid Henry Anketill, of the age of forty and four years, saith, that he well knoweth of his own knowledge the age of the aforesaid Richard the son of John, because one Katherine atte Hull, on the day of the birth of the same Richard the son of John, was sojourning in a certain house of the said Henry, which same Katherine then was the woman of Matilda, the mother of the

* Richard Fitz-Alan, K.G. tenth Earl of Arundel, was the nephew of Alina, the mother of the grantor of the charter. This nobleman, one of the greatest warriors of his time, having excited the strong personal enmity of Richard II. was, notwithstanding the valiant services he had rendered that monarch, brought to trial for alleged treason, and condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered as a traitor. The sentence was not carried into effect with all its horrible details, but this great noble was beheaded on Tower Hill in 1397, the King himself being present, and Thomas de Mowbray, Earl Marshal (who had married his daughter), is said to have been the executioner; his remains were buried in the church of the Augustine Friars, London. A detailed and interesting account of the trial and condemnation of the Earl is to be found in Stowe's Annals. That historian has, however, borrowed the particulars from an old MS. Chronicle now in the possession of John Speed Davies, Esq. which has been recently published by the Camden Society.

† Second earl, with whose wife is connected the tradition of the origin of the Order of the Garter.

‡ She was the daughter of Edward the second Baron le Despenser, and married (1) John Arundel and (2) Lord Zouch.

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aforesaid Richard the son of John, and told him of the aforesaid birth: And the aforesaid Nicholas Luffenham, of the age of fifty years, saith, that he well knoweth of his own knowledge the age of the aforesaid Richard the son of John, because he saw a certain Nicholas Bleseworth, then the esquire of the aforesaid John the son of Roger, carrying a torch before the said Richard to the aforesaid church, for the aforesaid baptism: And the aforesaid John Cole, of the age of forty and four years, saith, that he well knoweth of his own knowledge the age of the aforesaid Richard the son of John, because he was present in the aforesaid church on the said day of the aforesaid birth, and saw one Beatrice atte Lee carrying before the said Richard to the aforesaid church a certain vessel (*pelium*) full of water, for the baptism of the said Richard: And the aforesaid William Western, of the age of forty and three years, saith, that he well knoweth of his own knowledge the age of the aforesaid Richard the son of John, because he himself hath a son, by name Walter, of the same age: And the aforesaid William Rybode, of the age of forty and eight years, saith, that he well knoweth of his own knowledge the age of the aforesaid Richard the son of John, because on the day of the aforesaid birth he went to talk with the aforesaid Matilda, and met one John Bereford, then the esquire of the said Matilda, going over towards the aforesaid Elizabeth, to engage her as godmother of the said Richard, and she told him of the aforesaid birth: And the aforesaid Roger Hillom, of the age of sixty years, saith, that he well knoweth of his own knowledge the age of the aforesaid Richard the son of John, because on the day of the birth and baptism of the same Richard he was present in the aforesaid church and saw the aforesaid Richard having four godfathers and two godmothers, whereat he much marvelled: And the aforesaid John Staunton, of the age of fifty and six years, saith that he well knoweth of his own knowledge the age of the aforesaid Richard the son of John, because he saw the aforesaid Richard, then Earl of Arundel, give to the said Richard the son of John, on the same day, after his aforesaid baptism, a sword with silver furniture: And the aforesaid John Wolverlee, of the age of sixty and ten years, saith that he well knoweth of his own knowledge the age of the aforesaid Richard the son of John, because he was at that

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time esquire to the aforesaid William Earl of Salisbury, and carried to the said Richard on that day a silk bed with all its furniture of the gift of the said late Earl after the aforesaid baptism: And the aforesaid Walter Danham, of the age of fifty and two years, saith that he well knoweth of his own knowledge the age of the aforesaid Richard the son of John, because he saw the aforesaid Elizabeth la Despenser, on the aforesaid day of the aforesaid birth, give to the said Richard a cup of silver gilt. In testimony whereof the jurors aforesaid have set to this proof their seals. Given on the day, at the place, and in the year above mentioned."

For the information of our non-professional members, I may be pardoned for stating that this inquisition as to the age of Richard le Strange was made for the purpose of enabling him, on proof of his having attained the age of twenty-one years, to obtain livery of his lands out of the hands of his guardian, to whom, by the feudal system, the wardship both of his body and lands had been granted during his minority.

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THOS. PHILLIPPS.

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Proceedings at the Meetings of the Society.

FIRST GENERAL MEETING,

Held in Crosby Hall, on Friday, December 14, 1855,

The Rev. THOMAS HUGO, M.A. F.S.A. M.R.S.L. &c. in the Chair.

The particulars of this Meeting, taken from Mr. Knight's short-hand report, will be found at pages 3—22.

SECOND GENERAL MEETING,

Held in Crosby Hall, on Monday, January 28, 1856,

The Right Hon. the LORD LONDESBOROUGH, K.C.H. F.R.S. F.S.A. &c. President of the Society, in the Chair.

The noble Chairman, on opening the proceedings, congratulated the Society on the very large number of Members who had assembled at the invitation of the Council—a proof, as his Lordship hoped, that a lively interest was felt in its well-being, and an earnest of its power and influence for good. Although still suffering from indisposition, he could not refrain from being present on this occasion, or from assisting to the utmost of his ability an Institution with the desire for the establishment of which he most heartily concurred, and for the continued advancement of which he was as warmly solicitous. The Society, his Lordship added, was now fairly introduced to the world. Many noble and learned men had consented to become its supporters, and he hailed the present appearances as an indubitable augury of future success.

The Rev. Thomas Hugo, M.A. F.S.A. &c. then read the first paper of the evening, an "Introductory Address" on the objects of the Society and the field of its operations; given at page 23.

C. Roach Smith, Esq. F.S.A. contributed the next paper, "On some late Discoveries in Roman London," for which see page 31.

The Rev. Thomas Hugo followed with "A Memoir of Crosby Place," given at page 35.

Thomas Lott, Esq. F.S.A. read "Notices of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate," at page 57.

The Rev. Charles Boutell, M.A. concluded with "A Notice of the Monumental Brasses to Alianore de Bohun, Duchess of Gloucester, in Westminster Abbey, and to Joice, Lady Tiptoft, in Enfield Church, Middlesex," given at page 67.

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The Hon. Secretary, Mr. G. B. Webb, read a letter from Sir Charles Barry, in reply to a representation made to him by the Council relative to some ancient statues found in the crypt of St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, which had been subjected to wanton injury; in preventing which for the future the Council requested that Sir Charles Barry's authority might be exerted. The letter conveyed an assurance, most courteously worded, that this request should be complied with.

After a vote of thanks to the noble Chairman, proposed by the Rev. Thomas Hugo, and seconded by Mr. Deputy Lott, the Members retired to the Council Chamber adjoining the Hall to partake of refreshments and to inspect the Society's temporary Museum.

Objects and Works of Art exhibited.

By the PRESIDENT. A bronze figure of an Archer, of the Roman period, discovered in an excavation in Queen Street, Cheapside, in July, 1842. It was secured in the first place by Mr. William Chaffers, F.S.A. and was purchased from him by Lord Londesborough. A description and figure of this beautiful object of Roman art, are given in the Archæologia, vol. xxx. pp. 543, 544, plate xxii. And an admirable engraving has been made by Mr. F. W. Fairholt, F.S.A. which may be found in Lord Londesborough's Miscellanea Graphica, No. 8.

By W. PETTIT GRIFFITH, Esq. F.S.A. A stone-boss, sculptured with foliage, discovered in 1855 on the site of Christ's Hospital, Newgate Street.

A carved stone window-head, found in the vicinity of St. John's Gate, Clerkenwell. It belonged to the Priory Buildings, and is interesting on account of its containing the arms of the Priory in the spandril of its arch.

Part of an ornamental ceiling found in Berkeley Court, Clerkenwell, on the site of the residence of Sir Maurice Berkeley, standard-bearer to Henry VIII., Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth.

By the Rev. THOMAS HUGO, M.A. F.S.A. A celt, formed of green stone, remarkable for its large dimensions, 8½ inc. by 3¾ inc. It was taken from the bed of the river near Battersea Bridge, in September, 1854.

A black flint celt, 6 inc. by 2½, possessing an edge of remarkable excellence in smoothness and sharpness. It was taken from the river near Teddington, in May, 1854.

A black flint celt, 4½ inc. by 2⅞ inc., found near Blackfriars Bridge, in February, 1855.

A large bronze celt, of the simple wedge form, found also in the Thames in 1854, length 7½ inc. breadth of cutting-edge 4 inc. The greater portion of its surface is covered by a fretty ornament, formed by small indents, which may have been impressed on the bronze by means of a blunt chisel. See Journal of Brit. Archæol. Assoc. vol. ix. p. 166, pl. 12, figs. 8, 9.

A bronze fibula, of the Roman period, discovered in an excavation in

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Ratcliffe Highway, October 27, 1852. It is figured at page 22. One of nearly similar shape was discovered some years since at Odiham, in Hampshire, and is figured in the Journal of the Institute, vol. ii. p. 46. Another still more closely resembling the present was exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries, in May, 1850, and is described and figured in the Proceedings, vol. ii. pp. 84—86. A third, preserved in the Boulogne Museum, is given by Mr. C. R. Smith, Collect. Antiq. vol. i. pl. 3; and a fourth is mentioned in the Recueil of Caylus, tome 1er. p. 256. The present specimen, which is at least as beautiful as either of those referred to, was exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries, May 26, 1853, and is noticed in the Proceedings, vol. iii. p. 15.

The central portion of an Ivory Triptych, of the fourteenth century, discovered in Haydon Square, Minories, on the supposed site of the convent of Nuns Minoresses, September 12, 1853. It represents, in an upper compartment, the Crucifixion, with the Virgin and St. John, and, in a lower, the Virgin crowned with the Infant Saviour. Traces of red and blue colour are still visible in several parts. An engraving of this interesting relic of mediæval art is given at p. 56.

A Russo-Greek Triptych, found in 1853, in the churchyard of Christ's Church, Spitalfields, having probably been interred with the corpse of some foreigner, a member of the Greek Church.

By Charles Reed, Esq. F.S.A. A Couvre-feu, or Curfew, of copper, embossed and ornamented with a vine-leaf pattern running round the outer edge. The parts are riveted together, and the dimensions are 10 inc. in width, 16 inc. in height, and 9 inc. in depth. The curfew was formerly an utensil in very frequent use. The ashes being raked together at the back of the hearth, this covering was placed over them, so that, the air being almost wholly excluded, the fire was speedily extinguished and no smoke escaped to the apartment. Bacon speaks of the "fire cover," and Johnson calls it "a fire plate." The specimen exhibited was formerly the property of the antiquary Francis Grose. On his death it passed into the possession of Horace Walpole, and bears a label in his hand-writing. It is engraved in Hone's "Every Day Book," vol. i. p. 243. Also three Roman lamps, found in London.

By J. W. Brown, Esq. Fragments of Roman horse-furniture, and a Roman ring, discovered in Queen Street, Cheapside, 1853.

By the Rev. Charles Boutell, M.A. A rubbing of the brass to Joice, Lady Tiptoft, in Enfield Church, Middlesex.

By T. L. Peake, Esq. A rubbing of the Shepherd brass in Kingsbury Church, Middlesex.

By Edward Griffith, Esq. F.R.S. The Antwerp View of London, by Hollar—a magnificent impression, formerly the property of the late Mr. Newman, the City Solicitor. That gentleman had it lithographed, and gave a number of copies to his friends. These are accordingly by no means uncommon, but copies of the original etching are of very rare occurrence.

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Another View of London by Hollar, representing the City previous to the Great Fire, and annexed to it is a representation of part of the town in ruins.

A picture of London by the Dutch artist Greffier. When collated with the view by Hollar, it is obvious that neither is copied from the other. There is sufficient difference, though both were taken from the same or closely adjoining spots, from which to infer originality, and perhaps accuracy in both. They were taken, not, as it appears, from the tower of St. Saviour's, Southwark, but from some considerable elevation near it.

By the Surrey Archæological Society. A bronze dagger and a flint celt found at Teddington, for an account and figure of the former of which see page 140: also a collection of fictile works discovered in London, from the Museum of the Society.

THIRD GENERAL MEETING,

Held in the French Gallery, 121, Pall Mall, on Tuesday, February 26, 1856,

A. J. BERESFORD HOPE, Esq. F.S.A. in the Chair.

The Chairman commenced his address by stating that the present Meeting was one of peculiar interest, inasmuch as the Society was now visiting the City of Westminster for the first time. The two previous Meetings had been held within the limits of the City of London, and Westminster had not until now enjoyed the benefit of the Society's presence. It was, however, eminently worthy of that honour, as some of the noblest relics of our ancient Metropolis were to be found within its pale. The Chairman next adverted to the need which existed of an Institution like the present. London had contributed many objects of interest to the archæological student; but it needed a concentrated association, such as this Society, to develope its resources, and rescue from oblivion the fast decaying remains of its former greatness. This was the Society's object and intention; and, in order to carry out the same to the fullest extent, it proposed to institute a careful supervision of existing relics, and to encourage the preservation of antiquities which might be discovered in the progress of works, whether excavations for sewers, or the removal of soil for the foundations of buildings. It would also prevent, as far as was practicable, any injuries with which monuments and ancient remains might be ruthlessly threatened. To show the need of such an Institution, it was only necessary to observe that had it existed three years ago the crypt of Gerrard's Hall would no doubt have met with a very different fate. It had been sent to the Crystal Palace, and eventually was broken up to mend the roads at Sydenham. The Chairman thought that by concentrating their efforts on their own district they would be doing much good to the general cause of antiquarian research and archæological science. And when they considered the antiquity of the Metropolis, and its long and interesting history, they must, he was con-

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vinced, feel the importance of the study in which they were engaged, and of the object which had called them together.

The Rev. Thomas Hugo, M.A. F.S.A. read the first paper, on "The Primæval History of London and Middlesex." He observed:—

"That 'the child is father of the man,' is a statement received by the majority of us, I presume, as an almost sacred truth. To nations, therefore, like ourselves, with a long and glorious history, and valued institutions which are the growth of centuries, no matter can well be more interesting than the infancy and childhood of that body politic which has risen to a manhood of so surpassing and noble a stature. If the beginning ennobles the end, the end may surely be said to reflect a halo round the beginning.

"I am desirous, accordingly, of calling the attention of the Society to a subject about which very little has been written, but whose interest and importance are nevertheless indisputable. I allude to the state of the metropolis and the metropolitan county prior to and during the times of the Roman invasions—the primæval history, in a word, of that comparatively small area which in succeeding times has been the scene of such mighty operations, and has played so important a part in every act of the world's eventful drama. The topic is confessedly obscure, but is only on that account the more full of interest, and deserving of the more profound attention. I hope to be able to throw just one or two additional rays of light into the gloom, and in this manner to enable the future investigator to begin his researches from one step at least in advance of the point from which he might otherwise have commenced his journey."

The paper proceeded to comment on the accounts of the Greek and Roman historians, philosophers and geographers, Herodotus, Aristotle, and Polybius, the only authorities who mention our island that lived prior to Cæsar's first invasion, Cæsar himself, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Pomponius Mela, and Tacitus.

It then continued:—

"Cæsar arrived in Britain, Aug. 26, B.C. 55, and after some losses returned to Gaul about the 20th of September in the same year. He made a second expedition in May, 54 B.C., and, though meeting with considerable obstruction, proceeded as far as the Thames against the Britons under the command of Cassivellaun. And here it is that for the first time the tribes which occupied this portion of the island figure prominently upon the scene. As the Roman commander led his army along the bank of the stream, with a view of attacking the forces of Cassivellaun, he found that the only ford, and that a difficult one, was rendered still more dangerous by being staked in all directions, both on the banks and in the bed of the river. Nothing, however, could withstand the practised skill and determination of the legionaries. Cassivellaun betook himself to the neighbouring woods and fastnesses, and there awaited a brighter day. Parties, however, were continually issuing forth, and kept the Romans in constant alarm; and it was therefore, no doubt, to Cæsar's considerable satisfaction, that

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the Trinobantes, the men of Essex, and of the neighbouring parts of Middlesex, sent parties to treat with him. Imanuentius had ruled the district, and his son Mandubratius had visited Cæsar in Gaul. Cassivellaun, like a true Briton, had no notion of these dubious patriots, and the youth had escaped by flight the death which the father had incurred. On Cassivellaun's defeat, Cæsar was requested to place Mandubratius on the throne. The request was complied with, though the sovereignty under such circumstances was little else than a mockery. At this apparent clemency several of the neighbouring tribes entered into league with the Roman, and the gallant Cassivellaun was left alone to repel, as best he could, the march of the invader.

"The tribes whose adherence was last received carried their baseness so far as to reveal the situation of Cassivellaun's town. The Britons, says Cæsar, call by the name of town, 'oppidum,' a place in the densest part of the woods, which they strengthen with a ditch and rampart, to protect themselves against an enemy's attack. Such as this was the oppidum of Cassivellaun; fortified both by wood and marsh, and enclosing a great multitude of men and cattle. The soldiers of Rome were again victorious; and the British chief, foiled in an attack which he had devised against the castra navalia, and hurt most of all by the desertion of his countrymen, sent to Cæsar to treat for peace. And Cæsar, wisely considering that such an enemy was neither to be slighted nor goaded into further resistance, acceded, stipulating that Mandubratius and the Trinobantes should remain unmolested.

"Hitherto we have heard nothing of London, unless the cursorily-mentioned 'civitas' of the Trinobantes can be so interpreted. Supposing this, however, to mean London, as it assuredly may, the stronghold of the British chieftain and the special scene of the contest must be sought for elsewhere. The former could not have been the friendly 'Trinobantum civitas,' whatever that was, or, among other reasons, Cæsar would not have needed its situation to be revealed to him. Nor, surely, was it the spot afterwards called Verulamium, near St. Alban's, though generally so considered, inasmuch as that place was far too remote from the admitted locality of Cæsar's described operations, which were most assuredly confined to the neighbourhood of the Thames. I shall be pardoned for reminding you, inasmuch as the fact appears usually to be forgotten, that the name of the oppidum of the heroic Briton is nowhere stated by any of the original authorities, and that it is only in comparatively modern times that Verulamium has been suggested as his capital. This suggestion, though proposed by very able advocates, appears to me to be entirely erroneous, and in the total absence of ancient testimony to admit most fairly of dispute. It has been assumed, I am aware, by one modern author after another from Camden downwards; but the agreement of two or three centuries is only what we meet with on other occasions where error is palpably manifest, and must therefore by no means be regarded as an indubitable evidence of truth. For the reasons

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already advanced, then, especially the general silence of antiquity, and the remoteness of the place from the acknowledged scene of action, I consider Verulamium entirely destitute of any real claim to be so associated. Indeed, without going so far as to place the site of primæval London on the south bank of the Thames, a notion to my mind wholly without foundation, I nevertheless regard with the greatest suspicion each modern theory (for an ancient one does not exist) which would localise any of the events of Cæsar's campaign in places north of the immediate vicinity of the river. The oppidum of Cassivellaun is, therefore, in my opinion, to be sought for more to the south, instead of the north, than either Verulamium or the London of any age; and I would hazard what appears to me a far more probable conjecture, that a large collection of hut circles on Wimbledon Common, distinctly visible a short time ago, and I doubt not at present also, was the fortified fastness to which the Romans pursued him. The banks of the Thames from above Hampton Court to Battersea Bridge were indubitably the grand scene of the protracted warfare between the Roman legionaries and the heroic Britons. It was at Coway Stakes above Sunbury that, according to tradition, which there is no reason either to suspect or reject, the Roman commander crossed the Thames, where he found the bed of the river bristling with stakes and its further bank lined with his rude but courageous enemies, and from whence he proceeded towards the site of London. And, as I shall presently show in confirmation of this view, the discovery of both British and Roman weapons all along the space just defined is a positive proof, or very little less, of the correctness of the conjecture.

"Cæsar returned from Britain the same year, B.C. 54. . . . . We must now pass over a long interval of nearly a century, concerning the history of which little or nothing is known. In A.D. 43 Aulus Plautius was sent by Claudius into Britain, and overcame Caractacus. . . . . In A.D. 61 Suetonius attempted the reduction of Anglesea. Taking advantage of his absence, Boadicea, queen of the Iceni, attacked the Roman stations and put 70,000 to death. The British queen is described by Xiphilinus, evidently from tradition, as of gigantic stature, most terrible of aspect, most savage of countenance and harsh of voice, with a profusion of yellow hair which fell down to her hips, and wearing a large golden collar: she was attired in a party-coloured floating vest drawn close about her bosom, and over this she wore a thick mantle connected by a clasp; a figure which, how rude soever, was not less right royal in the eyes of those whom she incited to revenge.

"On this occasion the Iceni were joined by the Trinobantes. Suetonius marched to London and engaged the Britons, of whom it is said that 80,000 were put to the sword. During the whole of this period southern Britain was the scene of continual warfare between the native tribes and their foreign invaders, and it required the care and science of the ablest generals of Rome to make good their occupation, and to subdue the indomitable spirit of these sons of liberty.

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"It is when relating the return of Suetonius from Mona to revenge the insurrection of Boadicea, that the name of London is first found in ancient literature. Tacitus says, 'Suetonius Londinium perrexit, cognomento quidem coloniæ non insigne, sed copia negociatorum et commeatuum maxime celebre.' It was not dignified indeed with the title of a colony, but was much celebrated for resort of traders and strangers. By this time, then, at least, it had risen to importance. He was obliged to leave it to the vengeance of the enemy, and all whom the weakness of sex or age obliged, or the sweetness of the place, 'loci dulcedo,' induced, to remain were indiscriminately put to the sword. This was followed shortly afterwards by the campaigns of Agricola, A.D. 78—84. It is needless to pursue the history further, as Britain from this time became Roman, and the era ends to which I desired to give attention.

"It will be seen that I have taken the more authentic narratives of Cæsar and Tacitus, as to the state of this portion of our country, than the fictions of Geoffrey of Monmouth and others of his school. According to them London was founded by Brute, the son of Silvius, son of Ascanius, son of Æneas. Brute, they say, having killed his mother in his infancy and his father by accident in hunting, fled his country, and after a succession of wanderings arrived at our island, then inhabited by giants of enormous stature, whom he defeated, with their herculean chieftain Gogmagog, about 1108 years B.C. The city was called, they add, Nova Troja, Dinas Belin, and Caer Ludd. I may add by the way that Camden supposes that the name was derived either from lhwn, groves, and dyn, a town, meaning the town in the wood, or from lhong, ships, with the termination as before. And Selden sees its name in Llan Dian, the city of Diana, a temple of whom is said to have existed in times of remote antiquity on the site of St. Paul's, as a shrine of Apollo did on that of Westminster Abbey.

"Camden's first derivation is to my mind the best, 'the city in the grove.' For let us imagine the scene of our Society's labours at the period which I am attempting to make more familiar to you. Through one umbrageous wood, with occasional clearings for such oppida as Cæsar and Tacitus have described for us,—a group of huts both for men and cattle, at some almost inaccessible spot, surrounded with a rude pallisade and ditch,—flowed, as

Labitur, et labetur in omne volubilis ævum,

a noble river, which at some points the woods almost touched, while at others immense marshes extended far into the country, through which the stream slowly progressed. Such, I believe, was Middlesex, till the legions of Claudius, and not Julius, who gained no permanent advantage against the inhabitants, conquered it, and, if not actually founded, at least gave an entirely different character to, a city whose name shall never be forgotten, but is a household word in realms that Cæsar never knew.

"I will not detain you longer than to say a few words about those objects of primæval antiquity which modern excavations have brought to light

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within this interesting region. And you will not fail to observe how the conjecture which I have ventured to make as to the site of the stronghold of Cassivellaun and of the scene of the contest is borne out by these discoveries.

"Mr. Holmes exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries in 1725 two urns found at Sunbury said to be Celtic. At Hedgerly, near Uxbridge, according to Aubrey, is a British camp. Roman camps are at Greenford, near Coway Stakes, &c. At Wimbledon, as I have already said, is a large collection of hut circles, but as they are beyond our limit, I will say no more about them. The late Lord Winchelsea had some celts found on Hounslow Heath.

"Then Dr. Roots and myself have a very fine collection of British weapons taken at various places from the bed of the Thames, exactly in the area of what I suppose to have been the course of Cæsar's advance. Mixed with these have been found Roman swords, where the river no doubt was pertinaciously contested, and every inch hotly fought for. I have several specimens of these British arms in the room, of the very first excellence. One, a beautiful celt of grey flint, was taken out of the Thames immediately in front of Hampton Court Palace. A second, possessing the finest edge that I ever observed in a stone weapon, came from the neighbourhood of Teddington, and a third, incrusted with the deposit of the river, from near Battersea Bridge. A fourth was found at the junction of the river Fleet with the Thames, and carries us back to the thought of the time when the former stream was a brawling brook descending rapidly from the eastern heights of what is now called Hampstead Hill, and entering into the Thames by a large opening which was crowded with canoes and rafts. A very interesting discovery also was made at the opening of the well-known barrow at Teddington on the 30th of June, 1854. The interment dated from the earliest period of our history. In the centre of the site of the funeral pile was a heap of calcined bones, upon which lay the bronze blade of a dagger, whereof the illustration given herewith is an exact copy.* Scattered on the floor of the grave were several fragments of flint. 'The bronze dagger,' says my friend Mr. Akerman, who communicated an account of the excavation to the Society of Antiquaries, 'would seem to indicate that the individual whose obsequies had been celebrated by the rite of cremation was a person of some rank and consideration among the primæval inhabitants of this district, since it is very evident, from the presence of flint implements in the mound, that the use of metal was not common among them.'† A similar remark may be applied to the beautiful armillæ which I have also the pleasure of exhibiting. And I would remark in addition, that, though

* The copper-plate printer has endeavoured, so far as his ink will permit, to imitate the colour of the original. Since the engraving was made, the weapon has suffered considerably from incautious handling, and the present is the only representation which exhibits the object of its actual size and precisely as when first discovered.

† Archæologia, xxxvi. p. 176.

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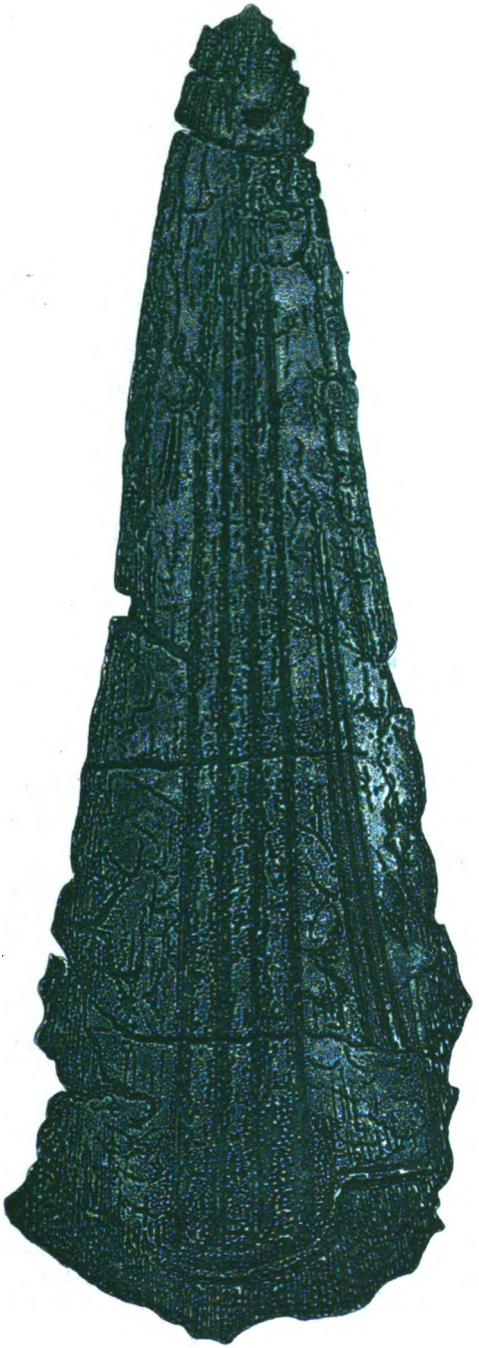

Harrington, Middlesex. 1854. Tho: Hugo. del.

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ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

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found upon the site of London (the exact spots were Bucklersbury and Cannon Street, both close to the river, and within an arrow's flight of it at the time of which I have been speaking), they do not in any way prove a settled occupation of the localities in which they were discovered.

"From such a beginning as this, have London and Middlesex progressed through the Roman ages which succeeded, the Saxon occupation, the Norman aggression, and those centuries of pomp and pride, ecclesiastical, military, and civil, which have given us the glorious city and the charming county of the present day. British London and Middlesex, and the London and Middlesex of Queen Victoria,—what a marvellous, complete, and affecting contrast! Be it never forgotten, however, that one element in the after-greatness is the determined, resolute, and indomitable perseverance and love of liberty which distinguished the humble original. You will not take it amiss if I conclude with the hope and prayer that the genuine characteristics of the race may never die out, and that Englishmen may never be ashamed of those ages of small beginnings which have directly resulted in all that we now enjoy and value—a state, which, though still admitting of considerable amelioration, if reverently and judiciously applied, we have nevertheless so much reason to be thankful for, to rejoice in, and to respect."

Henry Mogford, Esq., F.S.A., then read his paper, "Recollections of Westminster," which will be found at p. 113.

The Rev. Charles Boutell, M.A., followed with an address on "The Royal and other Tombs and Monuments in Westminster Abbey." He observed that in anticipation of the Meeting he had again very minutely inspected the Tombs in the Abbey Church of Westminster, and with the greatest mortification had witnessed their dilapidated and neglected condition. The dust had become so indurated on many of them that it was difficult to examine them at all. Others of special interest were fast crumbling away, and, unless some steps were speedily taken for their preservation, they would in no long time disappear altogether. He proceeded to describe Mr. Scott's process for saturating the ancient stonework with a peculiar liquid which had the effect of preventing further decay, and hoped that this process would be applied to these invaluable monuments of medieval art, so precious both in themselves and for their historical associations.* He concluded by describing the Shrine of the Confessor, and the Monuments of Queen Eleanor, Edward III., John of Eltham, and others. Further details are at present unnecessary, as it is intended that a series of papers in illustration of the Monuments in Westminster Abbey shall appear in the Society's Transactions.

George Gilbert Scott, Esq., A.R.A., then addressed the Society on "the Chapter-House of Westminster Abbey." He said it was well known that this building was the present receptacle for some of the most ancient and

* This saturating process has been very extensively applied to the early sculpture and other work in the Abbey, under the direction of Mr. Scott, and with the most satisfactory results.—Ed.

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valuable records connected with the history of the country, but he regretted to add that it was, architecturally speaking, in a most dilapidated and deplorable condition. The Chapter-House, as they were aware, was the old, ruinous, half-mouldering building to the left of the entrance at Poet's Corner; and the majority of the persons who pass into the abbey little suppose that it either was or that it contained any object of interest. In point of fact, however, it was a building of extraordinary beauty. It was erected in the reign of King Henry III., about the year 1250, at the same period as large portions of the abbey, and was spoken of at the time as "the incomparable Chapter-House of Westminster." The edifice was used as the place of assembly by the Parliaments of England, until the time of Edward VI., who gave the chapel of St. Stephen for that purpose, and from that period it was devoted to the conservation of the national records. In the year 1714 it was "repaired," as it was called; but Sir Christopher Wren, the Surveyor-General of the time, refused, to his honour be it said, to sanction the so-called "repairs," and they were consequently placed in other hands. The result was that the superb building was made the wreck which it now appears. The roof was taken off, the vaulting was entirely destroyed, the beautiful windows were blocked up and small round-headed ones placed in their room, the original entrance of a most glorious character was closed, a miserable door inserted in its stead, and the whole place was in fact mutilated in every possible manner. It was a work, therefore, of extreme difficulty to get at the original building, considerable portions, however, of which still existed beneath the wretched additions to which he had alluded; and it was only after great exertions that he had been enabled to make the drawing which was suspended in the meeting-room. Mr. Scott referred to a very splendid drawing and plan of the original structure, which attracted, as they deserved, the admiration of every one present. He proceeded to state that in some parts he had to clamber through piles of rubbish ten feet thick, his only means of obtaining light being from a lanthorn; and he had ascertained, to his extreme regret, that in a great many instances portions of the beautiful original work had been used to block up those parts of the building which had undergone the "repairs" previously mentioned. Among the interesting discoveries which were made were several wall-paintings, representing saints and other figures, In another part of the building he had found a long passage which seemed to spring under his footsteps. Upon examination it was found that the floor was nothing but a quantity of parchment consisting of writs, charters, and other records, which had been trodden down into one solid mass. The whole of these had been at his instance removed to the library and were now in proper custody. Mr. Scott concluded by expressing a hope that, after the contemplated removal of the records to their new place of deposit in Fetter Lane, the glorious Chapter-House of Westminster might be restored, for which there were sufficient data, to the appearance which it originally presented when completed by its royal founder.

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Sydney Smirke, Esq., F.S.A., A.R.A., read the last paper, "Remarks on some London Relics," given already at p. 119.

After which the cordial thanks of the Meeting were voted to the Chairman.

Objects and Works of Art exhibited.

By Sydney Smirke, Esq. A.R.A. F.S.A. Several relics from well-known buildings in London and elsewhere, described by Mr. Smirke in his paper at p. 119.

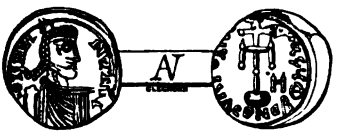
By the Rev. Thomas Hugo, F.S.A. A black flint celt, 4¼ inc. by 2¾ inc., found in the Thames opposite Kingston in May, 1855.

A celt of the finest grey flint, 6 inc. by 2¼ inc. found in July, 1854, in the bed of the Thames, immediately in front of Hampton Court Palace.

Another, very similar, 5¾ inc. by 2 inc. taken from the Thames at Twickenham, in the spring of 1855.

Several Celtic bronze armillæ, rudely engraved in cross lines, found in Bucklersbury and Cannon Street, City, in November, 1853.

Two Merovingian gold coins found in the Thames, March, 1855, of one of which the following is a representation :—



Merovingian gold Coin, in the possession of the Rev. Thomas Hugo.

A Saxon fibula of lead, found with the former. Saxon fibulæ of this description are of the highest degree of rarity, and are nearly new to archæological science. The writer is aware of only four examples: the one exhibited, (*figured at p.* 123,) a second formerly in the collection of Mr. C. Roach Smith and now in the British Museum, a third in the possession of Mr. William Chaffers, and a fourth in the Museum at York.

By Henry Mogford, Esq. F.S.A. A panel from the roof of the Painted Chamber of Westminster, bought by the exhibitor in one of the cellars below the Palace. A number of similar fragments were piled up here during the repairs, and the workmen sold them to visitors for a trifle, in order to buy liquor.

Exchequer Tallies, found among the records which had been stowed away in sacks, pell-mell, in Carlton Ride.

Fragments of stained glass, obtained by boys some years since by scaling the exterior of Henry VII.'s Chapel by means of the water-pipe! Such doings are now among the things that were; though it is still to be devoutly

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wished that far less indifference towards our national monuments were conspicuous in bodies to whom their conservation is committed. The example set by the present Chapter of Westminster is a good one, and deserves the best thanks of antiquaries in general.

Mr. Mogford has kindly presented these interesting remains to the Society's Museum.

By Edward Richardson, Esq. Norman fragments from the West Porch of the Temple Church, obtained during the great restorations in 1842.

Part of the wall, or roof, illuminations on chalk, discovered inverted in the arched recesses of the Round of the same Church, and obtained at the same time.

Drawing of stone coffin in ditto.

By W. Bartlett, Esq. Stone cannon-balls, from the Tower ditch.

By J. H. Le Keux, Esq. A helmet and gauntlets, from the Church of West Drayton, Middlesex.

Drawings of the Norman Porch of Harlington Church, Middlesex, and of Gerrard's Hall Crypt.

By G. G. Scott, Esq. A.R.A. Water-colour drawings of the Chapter-house, Westminster, as it is supposed to have existed on its completion by K. Henry III.

By E. Griffith, Esq. F.R.S. A fine series of engravings of Old St. Paul's, by Hollar.

By G. B. Webb, Esq. Drawings by Coney, of the Exterior and Interior of St. Paul's Cathedral.

By T. J. Laing, Esq. Photograph of the New Palace of Westminster, from the Thames.

By Alfred Heales, Esq. A complete set of rubbings from the brasses in Westminster Abbey: also 10 other rubbings from Isleworth, Hillingdon, Brentford, Hackney, and St. Olave's Church, Hart Street.

By J. Whitley Brown, Esq. Three rubbings from brasses at All Hallows Barking, Tower Street; two from St. Andrew Undershaft; and two from Tottenham.

By Mr. H. Crow. Embroidery in bead-work of the Seventeenth Century.

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The Council presented the following statement of Contributions towards the formation of the proposed Library and Museum of the Society:—

From C. H. Elt, Esq. Member:
Maitland's History of London, continued by Dr. Entick. Best Edition. 2 vols. folio. 1772.

From B. H. Cowper, Esq. Member:
A History of Millwall. By the Donor. 8vo. 1853.
Fragment of a Roman Patera discovered at Bow in 1856.

From Captain Oakes, Member:
Portion of a Roman tessellated pavement discovered in making the northern approaches to London Bridge in 1830.

From Joshua W. Butterworth, Esq. F.S.A. Member:
Facsimile lithographs from original designs preserved at Fishmongers' Hall, representing a pageant performed by the Fishmongers' Company on Lord Mayor's Day, 1616, to celebrate the mayoralty of Alderman John Lemon, member of that Company. 12 plates. oblong folio.

From J. Y. Akerman, Esq. Secretary to the Society of Antiquaries:
Copies of two letters of General Lambert, dated from Kensington.

From the Honorary Secretary:
Three engravings illustrative of London at the close of the Sixteenth Century.

From Henry Mogford, Esq. F.S.A. Member:
Water-colour drawing of the Old Houses of Parliament.
Three pen-and-ink sketches of the Star Chamber and Speaker's Court, Westminster.

From the Suffolk Institute of Archæology:
Five Parts of the Proceedings of the Institute.

From Thomas J. Laing, Esq. Member:
Photograph of the Houses of Parliament.

From W. W. King, Esq. Member:
Rubbings of two Middlesex Brasses.

From Marmaduke R. Langdale, Esq. Member:
Impression in wax from the Great Seal of the Commonwealth, from the matrix in his possession.

From the Rev. R. Burgh Byam, Member:
Rubbing of a brass at Isleworth.

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From the Surrey Archæological Society:
Transactions of the Society, Vol. I. Part I. 8vo. 1856.

From Thomas Brewer, Esq. Member:
Memoirs of the Life and Times of John Carpenter, Town Clerk of London in the reigns of Henry V. and VI. By the Donor. 8vo. Plates. London. 1856.

From Joseph Mayer, Esq. F.S.A. Member:
A Catalogue of the Fejervary Ivories in his Museum. Pamphlet. 8vo. Liverpool. 1856.
History of the Art of Pottery in Liverpool. 8vo. 1856.

From R. Whitbourn, Jun. Esq. F.S.A.:
Drawing of a Penny of Henry I., struck at Sunbury, Middlesex, of a mintage hitherto unknown. *Figured at p.* 118.

From the Rev. Thomas Hugo, M.A. F.S.A. Member:
Architectural Notes of the Churches and other Medieval Buildings of Suffolk. 8vo. Plates. Lond. 1855.

From Henry Ely, Esq.:
A Brick from the Roman Wall of London.

From J. Whitley Brown, Esq. Member:
A Roman ring found in Queen Street, Cheapside.
A Saxon Cross of stone found on the site of Christchurch, Newgate Street.

From J. Prince Pollard, Esq. Member:
Portions of a leaden Pipe with iron joint, supposed to be Roman, found in Old Broad Street, Oct. 1854.
Rubbing of a Brass in Ashford Church, Middlesex.

From Edwin Mackie Gibbs, Esq. Member:
Five engraved Views of Old London.

From the Rev. Charles Boutell, M.A. Member:
Rubbing of brass of Joyce Lady Tiptoft, in Enfield Church.

From Mr. C. J. Boutell:
Rubbings of Brasses in Harrow Church.

From T. L. Peak, Esq. Member:
Rubbing of a Brass in Northolt Church, Middlesex.

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A List of all Papers, Documents, Notices, and Miscellaneous Communications having reference to the Archæology of London and Middlesex, which are contained in the Archæologia, Vetusta Monumenta, and Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, and the Journals of the Archæological Institute and Archæological Association, has been prepared by the Council of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society, and may be consulted for reference by Members, at No. 6, Southampton Street, Çovent Garden. It is intended to publish this List in Part II. of the Society's Transactions.

The Council desire to invite the attention of the Members and Friends of the Society to the

SPECIAL FUND FOR ENGRAVINGS

to illustrate the "Transactions," which has been formed at the suggestion of several Gentlemen, and to which the following Donations have been made:—

	£	s.	d.
The Lord Londesborough, *President* . .	20	0	0
The Rev. Charles Boutell, a plate, including the printing.			
The Rev. Thomas Hugo, ditto, ditto.			
G. B. Acworth, Esq.	0	10	0
W. Hawkes, Esq.	0	10	0
W. W. King, Esq. *(annual)*	0	10	0
J. Prince Pollard, Esq.	0	10	0

The Council will also be glad to receive communications, drawings, engravings, &c. relative to all matters connected with the History and Antiquities of the Metropolis and the Metropolitan County, for the MS. Collections, the Portfolios, and Scrap-books of the Society.

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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

LONDON AND MIDDLESEX

Archæological Society.

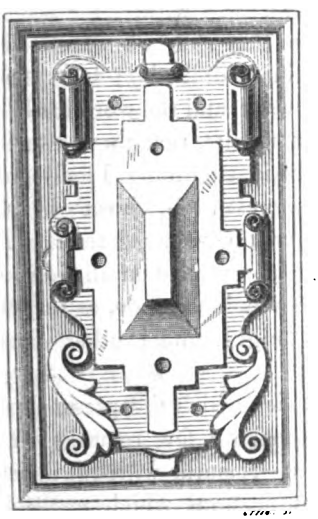
Vol. I. DECEMBER, 1857. Part II.

WALKS IN THE CITY.

No. I. Bishopsgate Ward.

BY THE REV. THOMAS HUGO, M.A. F.S.A. F.L.S. ETC.

[Read at the Gallery of British Artists, Suffolk Street, Feb. 18, 1857.]



Panel from the Front of the House of Sir Paul Pinder.

It will probably be in the recollection of the Members of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society, that I concluded my Introductory Address, since published in the first Part of our Transactions, with the assertion that we steered our bark at least for utility if not for fame. That declaration was not made without a lively appreciation both of the objects on which we are engaged, and of the mode by which they are to be attained. One of those objects, and the most important to my mind of all, is to preserve, as far as it lies in our power, the

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remembrance of edifices which the crowbar and the shovel are daily annihilating, and to furnish a permanent record of objects which are still visible, but which without our efforts will be speedily forgotten and lost for ever. The necessity for this is the more urgent when we know that, even since the day when the words alluded to were uttered, various buildings have been removed, the lineaments of which, at least, ought to have existed in the pages of our Transactions, but which have, unhappily, been suffered to pass from among us without note and without memorial. Whilst the mode by which alone this result can be secured is the necessarily laborious process of personal examination of the localities themselves, and the transferring to our sketch-books such details of the edifices doomed to destruction as are worthy alike of the care devoted to them, and of the prolonged remembrance which that care will avail to procure.

It is with these feelings and for these reasons that I present to the Society the first of a series of papers which I have called "Walks in the City," and whose special design it is to perpetuate, so far as aught of mine can help to do so, the recollection of things whereof the lapse of a very few years (in some cases, it is to be apprehended, of a very few days,) will witness the removal. I am humbly and painfully conscious that the task which I have undertaken is one of more than ordinary difficulty; but there is in it so much to encourage and to reward, and the work itself is so full of immediate and most valuable results, that there is neither room for despondency nor ground for inattention. I feel—and it is quite sufficient to create a lively interest in the object's behalf—that everything which I can secure will be so much rescued from certain destruction. Alterations are being made on all sides with such rapidity, and on so large and sweeping a scale, as to justify me in making an assertion which might, under other circumstances, be exaggerated and untrue.

Before I conduct you to the locality which the present paper is intended to illustrate, I desire to make a few remarks on the general subject of the entire series—remarks which will be as properly introductory to the communications which may follow as they are to that which is now offered to your acceptance.

I select then, first, "the City" as the scene of these walks, and

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then the various Wards which constitute the same, in order that, by being limited to a definite space, there may be less likelihood of my omitting to notice any object of interest than if I took examples indiscriminately from all parts of our Society's ground. For perspicuity of arrangement also this mode has very much in its favour. We thus have before us at one view the edifices of a single locality, and can use our book as an itinerary while we traverse its busy streets, or thread its winding alleys, or ramble among its antiquated courts and in its venerable squares. And in my choice of the City from the vast space included within the limits of our enormous metropolis, I am of course influenced by the fact that it is here that the evidences of the skill of our forefathers can still most gloriously and most copiously be seen, here that they lavished their treasures in the richest and amplest abundance, here that the nobleman and the merchant till comparatively recent times lived and died, and here that the great heart of England most proudly and most vigorously beat. The largest portion of London on every side is of modern erection, and without interest in an archæological point of view. And, with the exception of some most lovely examples in Westminster—I mean, of course, the Abbey and Hall, St. Stephen's Crypt, Whitehall, and other edifices in the neighbourhood, and the vicinity of the lines of streets between Temple Bar and St. Martin's Lane, including Lincoln's Inn and Covent Garden—the whole of the metropolis proper (reckoning it from Limehouse to Brompton, and from Camberwell to Islington,) contains but few objects of antiquarian interest which are not either included within the circuit of the City, or, like the Tower, in immediate proximity to its boundaries.

This quarter, so hallowed and glorified by olden memories, is unquestionably deserving of a foremost place in our affectionate regard. Our history, our literature, and our art are associated with the charmed ground in closest and most indissoluble union. You can scarcely open a single volume illustrative of our national history which does not carry you in imagination to that still picturesque assemblage of edifices where, amid its overhanging Elizabethan gables and stately Caroline façades, its varied masses of pleasantly mingled light and shade, its frequent churches and

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sonorous bells, the greatest and best of Englishmen have successively figured among their fellows, and to whose adorning and embellishment the noblest powers have in all ages been devoted. And yet, unhappily, this is the very spot where alterations are most commonly made, and with perhaps the least regard to the irreparable loss which they necessarily involve. Here, where, for all who are versed in our country's literature, every stone can speak of ages of greatness, where the name of every street and lane is classical, where around multitudes of houses fair thoughts and pleasant memories congregate as their natural home and common ground, the demon of transformation rules almost unquestioned, lays its merciless finger on our most valued treasures, and leaves them metamorphosed beyond recognition only to work a similar atrocity on some other precious object. Special attention, therefore, on every account, as well for the beauty, the value, and the excellence of that which still remains, as for the insecurity and uncertainty of its tenure, is most urgently and imperatively demanded.

In the following papers I shall endeavour to notice what is still in existence, making the itinerary of each division, as far as I can, complete in itself; so that, should my task be suspended in its progress, a portion of the ground at least may be looked upon as examined, and thus much of the work be regarded as done. I shall pass over many edifices with but a word of mention; as my object is, in regard both of literary and pictorial descriptions, to present the metropolitan antiquary with entirely new matter, —matter which at least is not contained in books, even though he may be cognizant of it from personal examination. Had this been done, as regards our entire metropolis, a hundred years ago, there would have been no need of our Society's existence, so much of her task would have been already performed. I shall therefore give you little beyond the names of our City Churches, inasmuch as they have been illustrated with more or less ability by earlier inquirers, and as they are not likely, I trust, to be removed, even for re-erection in the suburbs. But I shall speak of buildings, or portions of buildings, of which no description or figure has yet been published, and which, having a place only in the memory of the casual beholder, if once removed, are speedily and utterly for-

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gotten. I hardly need add that these are the edifices most likely to suffer an early demolition. Many of them are more or less unsuitable for business purposes; and, as such uses are paramount, their artistic excellences or their ancient memories do not avail to spare them. And, besides this, many of them are from ages of neglect in a state of great dilapidation, which their owners, foreseeing their hasty removal, do not care to remedy. So that,—I hope I shall not be considered wearisome in repeating,—if our work be not commenced at once, the opportunity will soon be over and gone. The structures will be demolished, and the lessons which they can teach will be lost for ever.

Perhaps it will be said that they can teach us no lessons. I differ as widely as the poles from such an opinion, and I desire to make you also to differ from it as widely. Some of them, I admit, are objects solely of archæological interest. Many have together with this other claims on our respectful attention. The antiquary is often met by the silly inquiry of dull and heavy, or of self-conceited and flippant, people, as to the use of his inquiries and the serviceableness of his investigations. Cui bono? is the pert query ever on the lips of these wise in their own eyes.—What is the good of all your dusty excavations, your scrupulous measurements and sketches of worm-eaten wood and crumbling stone, your rummaging among mouldy parchments, your toilsome pilgrimages first to one old ruinous house and then to another? Cui bono? I might quote words better than either I or any man else at the present day can write against so foolish a question. But I will answer it with another. What is the good of knowing anything about ages past and gone? What is the good of being able to trace the history of any opinion, family, custom, or thing, from them in whom it originated to ourselves who are benefited by the transmission? What, in short, is the good of any imaginable information on any imaginable subject? The good of the latter, which, I presume, such persons would concede, is identical with that of the former which they are senseless enough to question.

But, not merely to adduce the dictum of Sir Henry Wotton, that "Architecture can want no commendation where there are noble men and noble minds," I think I can show that even on strictly utilitarian principles the investigation before us will be productive

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of good. Ours is an age of building, and, without offence to the real architects, who are seldom employed except on great works, an age of building amiss. In the construction of dwelling-houses especially, it cannot, I think, be denied that we are lamentably inferior to our forefathers. What mansion, for example, built in our lifetime in the City, and for a considerable distance beyond its pale, equals the house of Sir Paul Pinder, a mere fragment though it now is, or that erected by Sir Christopher Wren, among others of doubtless equal excellence, in Mark Lane, and still by good fortune preserved to show us how a city magnate was lodged in the reign of the second Charles? What dwelling constructed in Westminster is a match for that goodly structure which Inigo Jones built for the Ashburnham family in Little Dean's Yard? The matchless wood-work and superb ceilings of the first, the grand entrance and hall of carved wainscot, the nobly proportioned chambers, and rich doorcases of the second, and the marvellous drawing-room, the state bed-room with its exquisite alcove, and the glorious staircase of the last, are things which in modern works we may indeed sigh for, but for which we must sigh in vain. In the erection of dwelling-houses, especially of the middle and humbler kinds, it must, I repeat, be admitted that we do not excel. Why is this? That our architects can design sublime churches and gorgeous palaces, a cursory glance at the walls of our exhibition-rooms can prove to the most sceptical. That their noble art has not for centuries found better representatives and more able masters than those who at the present moment profess and practise it, I gladly and gratefully admit. Why, then, are our dwellings such as they commonly are? Either, first, because their claims are overlooked, and graceful design and elegant ornament are considered to be thrown away upon such objects, as though a man's own home deserved less of him than edifices reared for the acquisition of wealth or the purposes of public entertainment. Or, secondly, because the true principles of construction and ornamentation of dwellings have yet to be learned by many, who spend large sums in building and adorning monstrosities, when half the expenditure combined with knowledge and good taste might produce genuine effects and real triumphs. Or, because some will still persist in giving unlovely birth to a miserable abortion of sham Gothic,

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Gothic but in name. They think it picturesque to have multitudinous corners, and draughty windows of all heights, sizes, and forms, and tapering roofs, and sombre staircases, and other delightful adjuncts considered peculiar to the Gothic style! They are lost in silent awe and breathless admiration when they see some uncouth demon glaring at them from the waterspout, or keeping guard on either side of their front door! And they complacently, nay joyously, endure it, when they thrust their heads against some low archway, or stumble over some unexpected step, which they hold to be Gothic and consequently adorable! If such peculiarities be "Gothic," which I do not believe—for I cannot imagine that our intelligent forefathers took such infinite pains to make themselves uncomfortable—I can only hope that neither my friends nor myself may ever have the gratification of living in a Gothic house constructed by real nineteenth-century Gothic builders. True Gothic architecture is almost divine in our churches and collegiate edifices, the lovely garb of lovely thought, the gracious body of a gracious soul. Unapproachable there, with its magic combinations of arch and moulding, pier and buttress, niche and canopy, pinnacle and tracery. Becoming, too, and oftentimes desirable in the country, among village scenes, encircled by the green sward or the fragrant garden, and backed by the tall trees where the rooks make music! But in our city mansions not to be allowed, even for sake of very reverence, (to say nothing of that agreement with the designed use of the structure, which should have special claims on an architect's regard,) lest we weaken men's respect for those holy things which its sacred forms suggest and symbolise. Our dwellings in London must not be Gothic, either real or sham. They must be such as our two unapproachable masters, Inigo Jones and Sir Christopher Wren, have taught Englishmen to admire, have created for us and made our own. Such houses are rarely found beyond the circuit of our metropolis, and hence those which we possess are still more valuable, and deserving of more attentive study and more reverent regard.

It is to such houses that in the course of our rambles I shall have specially to direct your attention, and hence our subject is pre-eminently a practical one. I shall have to introduce you,

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indeed, to some edifices of a still more ancient date, especially in that portion of our metropolis which escaped the great conflagration of the seventeenth century; as, for example, the locality about which I am presently to speak. But in many portions of the City the hand of Wren is observable above all; and his structures, and those of his mighty compeer, are full to abundance of details not only suitable for modern edifices, but the very things that we require, the very things that we ought to select out of the whole aggregate of architectural production. Here is a vast encyclopædia of form, arrangement, and ornament, which is not and cannot be rivalled. Here is everything that can be desired, whatever may be our requirements. A palace or a lowly dwelling may thus be constructed, and each bear the mark, which some even of our costliest mansions do not exhibit, of the working of a mind equal to every demand, and able to throw the charm of its innate beauty and the grace of its fertile genius into the simplest and plainest erections. And be it specially remembered that the very humility of some of the designs which I shall exhibit to you constitutes their greatest value; because, as we erect ten thousand common dwellings for one palace, means are thus afforded of diffusing beauty more generally, and of introducing it to multitudes of edifices from which it is now entirely banished. The masses of our countrymen may thus be brought into contact with graces, which are now appropriated and monopolized by the favoured few, and may be refined and ennobled by influences to which at present they are necessarily strangers. Every home will then be made to contribute towards that elevation of mind which we desire to create, instead of fastening around degraded natures another link of interminable chain.

Such lessons, and such motives for action—and they are neither greater nor higher than the subject suggests or the occasion warrants—I desire to impress and to elicit in the examination to which I invite you, whether architects by profession, or, like myself, simple and humble amateurs. I need not add my confidence that, if such be the result of our studies, our rambles in the City will by no means be unproductive of essential service, or the cordial pleasure which I shall feel if any labours of mine shall conduce to an end so devoutly to be aimed at, and an effect

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which all right-minded and sensible men must concur in thinking so desirable.

I have selected the Ward of Bishopsgate for the scene of our first walk, not so much from the fact, that, from some years of actual residence within its limits, and from my sacred vocation there necessarily introducing me to many of the interiors, I must be more or less acquainted with every house in the locality, as from the position which it occupies on the map of the City. It lies on the north-easternmost side, and accordingly takes precedence in a line of examination, running, as I propose for convenience sake that our's shall do, from north-east to south-west. There is also another reason which has considerable weight in influencing my choice of this district for the commencement of my present labours. The greater portion of the Ward of Bishopsgate, together with parts of those of Portsoken, Aldgate, Tower, Lime Street, and Broad Street, were nearly the whole of the City Proper that escaped the general devastation of the Great Fire of 1666. So great was the havoc of this terrible catastrophe, that, out of ninety-eight parish churches within the walls, eighty-five were destroyed, and but thirteen remained untouched. Previous to the Great Fire, also, the houses of London, with few exceptions, were constructed of wood, filled up with plaster. The earliest edifices of brick were erected between 1612 and 1640; while subsequently such houses have been common, not to say universal. To the Ward of Bishopsgate, therefore, and to the other localities just indicated, we must direct our attention for the earliest houses which we yet possess, whether of wood or of brick, within the area of the City. And happily we have yet preserved to us several edifices of consummate excellence, which we should look for in vain in any other direction. Indeed I must frankly admit that I shall have no means of introducing you, in the course of any subsequent "walk," to so rich an array of beauties as that district will exhibit to us over which I now ask you to accompany me.

We will take the various points of interest in regular order, from north to south.

The first remark which an archæologist would be likely to make in his progress is the frequency of houses of the Elizabethan period. They occur at frequent intervals in both parts of

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the Ward, and are in reality even more common than they appear. In most cases the gables have been removed, and, in many, walls have been built in front of the ground-floors up to the projecting stories. Frequently, however, the backs of the houses preserve the original appearance of the structures; and even the metamorphosed fronts still possess a certain and peculiar air which is not to be entirely obliterated, and which instantly reveals their true character to the instructed and practised eye.

We enter the City at No. 103 on the east, and at No. 104 on the west side of Bishopsgate Street Without. Elizabethan houses, defaced and modernised, present themselves immediately on either side of the street.

As we proceed, a very noticeable group appears on our left hand, numbers 81 to 85 inclusive, Bishopsgate Street Without. Numbers 89 and 91 show evidences of similar construction, but have been so altered as to lose very much of their original aspect. The group to which I refer is represented in the annexed engraving. (Plate I.) It consists of five houses, the gables of two of which are still entire; and the whole, with the exception of the three missing gables, remains pretty much the same as when first erected. I hardly need say that these edifices are constructed of wood, and indeed a forest of timber must have been used in their composition. The same remark applies to many of the Elizabethan structures in the neighbourhood. The foundations of most of these are formed either of entire trees, or of trees simply halved; while the walls, both external and internal, are wholly composed of timber, filled up with plaster. This mode of construction goes far to explain the rapidity of the great conflagration, and the completeness of the destruction which it involved. The houses to which I am directing your attention are of three floors, the highest of which opens by a door, placed immediately in the centre of each gable, to a kind of gallery protected by a rail. They offer no internal peculiarities worthy of mention. I am informed that on the front of one of the group which has suffered the greatest mutilation the date of 1590 was formerly visible. The style of the edifices themselves is evidence of the correctness of this record.

In Artillery Lane, just beyond, a good instance occurs of a

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GROUP OF ELIZABETHAN HOUSES,
NOS. 81—85, BISHOPSGATE STREET WITHOUT, 1857.

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TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

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fact to which reference was made a moment ago, the addition of new fronts to the more ancient structures. The houses, as seen from the street, present no features of interest; at the back they exhibit their true Elizabethan character.

In No. 19, Widegate Street, hard by, is a portion of a ceiling of the time of the first Charles. The design consists of intersecting circles with fleurs-de-lis, and a shield bearing a religious emblem, an arm and hand holding a cross.

A few steps bring us, on the opposite side of the street, to by far the finest edifice of the kind in London, the well-known house of Sir Paul Pinder. It has been figured in various architectural and antiquarian works, but with little accuracy, and no attempt has been made to furnish minutely correct copies of the various decorations with which it abounds. This desideratum, so far as its exterior panels are concerned, I have now endeavoured to supply. (Plates II.—VII.) The front towards the street, with its gable, bay windows, and matchless panel-work, together with a subsequent addition of brick on its northern side, is one of the best specimens of the period now extant. The edifice was commenced in one of the closing years of the reign of Elizabeth, on the return from his residence in Italy of its great and good master. It was originally very spacious, and extended for a considerable distance both to the south side and to the rear of the present dwelling. The adjoining tenements in Half-Moon Street, situated immediately at the back of the building, which faces Bishopsgate Street, though manifesting no external signs of interest, are rich beyond expression in internal ornament. The primary arrangement, indeed, of the mansion is entirely destroyed. Very little of the original internal woodwork remains, and that of the plainest character. But in several of the rooms on the first floors of the houses just referred to there still exist some of the most glorious ceilings which our country can furnish. They are generally mutilated, in several instances the half alone remaining, as the rooms have been divided into two or more portions to suit the needs of later generations. These ceilings are of plaster, and abound in the richest and finest devices. Wreaths of flowers, panels, shields, pateras, bands, roses, ribands, and other forms of ornamentation, are charmingly mingled, and unite in producing

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the best and happiest effect. One of them, which is all but perfect, consists of a large device in the centre, representing the sacrifice of Isaac, from which a most exquisite design radiates to the very extremities of the room. In general, however, the work consists of various figures placed within multangular compartments of different sizes, that in the centre of the room usually the largest. The projecting ribs, which in their turn inclose the compartments, are themselves furnished with plentiful ornamentation, consisting of bands of oak-leaves and other vegetable forms, and in several instances have fine pendants at the points of intersection. The cornices consist of a rich series of highly-ornamented mouldings. Every part, however, is in strict keeping, and none of the details surfeit the taste, or weary the eye. Some notion may be obtained, even from this very imperfect description, of these exquisite works of art, of which the first palace in the land might well be proud; and which, even if rendered with a less amount of ornament, would be splendid adjuncts to any modern edifice. I have the pleasure of exhibiting a sketch of one of the best of these ceilings by the accurate pencil of my friend Mr. Charles Baily.

The two adjoining houses in Bishopsgate Street, numbers 170 and 171, also possess ceilings of the same noble character. It is doubtful whether these houses formed portions of Sir Paul Pinder's mansion. I am inclined to think that they did; but others, whose opinions on such subjects I greatly respect, consider that the presence of party-walls and of separate staircases, together with that of a slight inequality in the level of the floors, militates against the notion of their being parts of one structure. They may, however, have been additions to the original design, and they have evidently been ornamented by the same hand.*

On the right-hand side of Half-Moon Street is a lofty building of three stories and a gabled roof, usually called "The Lodge," and traditionally asserted to have been the residence of Sir Paul's gardener. The whole of what is now Half-Moon Street, and the numerous courts and alleys which diverge from it, were no doubt

* It is my intention to have the whole of the ceilings of these houses drawn according to scale, and published, as the wood panels now given, in a size which may alike do them justice and be useful to architects and designers at large.

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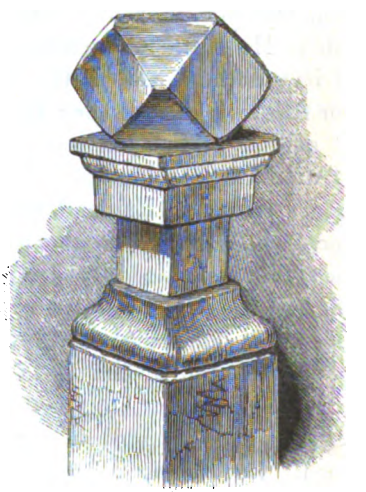
occupied by the domestic offices of a numerous household, and by large and stately gardens. The Lodge is much mutilated, but is of the same period as the mansion itself. In the room on the first floor is a most noble chimney-piece in excellent preservation, in whose bold character and graceful ornamentation the hand of Inigo Jones is unmistakeably evident. (Plate VIII. and vignette, p. 174.) The dimensions are eight feet in height by seven in width. The ceiling of the same room exhibits a design consisting of two ovals composed of leaves, with masks and ribands at the extremities. I have endeavoured to represent one of the former in the accompanying engraving. (Plate IX.) The walls are of wainscot in simple panels. The staircase though plain is excellent, and the newel at the foot well worthy of imitation. It is represented in the vignette.

The house is figured by Wilkinson in the "Londina Illustrata;" but the Society will not be sorry to possess a really accurate resemblance, engraved from a photograph taken a few days ago by my friend and parishioner Mr. Green.* (Plate X.)



Newel from the Staircase in "The Lodge."

Although this series of papers is intended for architectural and artistic rather than for historical or biographical details, a few words about the original master of all this mutilated though still exquisite grandeur will not, I presume, be considered out of place.

Sir Paul Pinder was born at Wellingborough, in Northamp-

* Not two months subsequently to the reading of my paper, this interesting house was destroyed, and several shops have been erected on the site. I was able to secure the chimney-piece, masks, and newel, which are now in my possession.

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tonshire, in or about the year 1565, and was, I believe, the eldest son of Ralph Pinder, Alderman's Deputy for the Ward of Bishopsgate. At the age of sixteen he was apprenticed by his father to a Mr. Parvish, an Italian merchant, who sent him, when about eighteen, as his factor, to Venice, where he remained for a number of years. On his return to England, the Turkey Company, which he had greatly befriended during his sojourn in Italy, petitioned King James, in the year 1611, that his Majesty would graciously be pleased to send him to Constantinople as his ambassador to the Turkish Emperor. The request was granted, and Mr. Paul Pinder resided at his embassy for upwards of nine years. It was at this time that the portrait was painted of him by, I presume, some Christian artist, as the Mohammedans held it unlawful to make resemblances of living objects, which was formerly in the possession of James Forbes, Esq., an engraving from which was published by John Simco, in 1794, and is now exhibited. His brother, who was also resident at Constantinople, was first immortalised, and in the following year, 1614, the ambassador followed his example; though I think it must be admitted that neither of the pair was much advantaged by the selection or flattered by the attention of the limner employed! On Mr. Pinder's return to England, in 1623, he was knighted by King James, who offered him the post of Lieutenant of the Tower, which Sir Paul modestly declined. King Charles afterwards made him one of the Farmers of his Customs. In 1639 Sir Paul's estate "was valued and cast up by his own appointment;" and it was then found to amount to £236,000, besides bad debts. Of this at that time matchless fortune a large proportion was lent to the King, and expended in the troubles which soon afterwards ensued. But among other munificent acts he gave during his lifetime £10,000 towards the re-building of the cathedral of St. Paul, and, after the payment of various legacies, amounting to the sum of £9,500, out of one-third of his estate, two-thirds being in the service of the King, one-seventh part of the residue he willed to each of the following hospitals, Christ's, St. Bartholomew's, St. Thomas's, Bridewell, and Bethlehem, the prisons in and about London, the parish of St. Botolph Without Bishopsgate, and his native town of Wellingborough.

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Sir Paul Pinder's history as a parishioner of St. Botolph is by no means devoid of interest. He was a steady and unswerving Royalist, whilst the ruling influences in the parish were on the Parliamentarian side, and eventually the open enemies of their sovereign. Accordingly, his name rarely appears in the parochial records. I have discovered that he was fined for constable, (discharged, that is, from serving the office on payment of a fine,) in 1626. He was fined for the same office also in the following year, 1627. He was elected vestryman in 1630 and 1631; but I find him very seldom present, whether from unwillingness or from absence from home I cannot determine. I see that he was at the meetings of that body twice in 1634, once in 1635, twice in 1637, once in 1639, once in 1640, and once in 1641. In 1642 he was auditor, with others, of the churchwardens' accounts. These are all the notices of his presence that I can discover. But he was known in a far greater and nobler light than a mere parish wrangler, although, as it appears from the minutes, a large proportion of his neighbours contented themselves with that character. I find among our records the following most creditable entry respecting him. (Vol. B., fol. 9 *b*.)

DECEMBER PRIMO, 1633.

WEE whose names are herevnder menconed, Parson, Alderman's deputy, Common councell men, Churchwardens of the parrish of St Buttophes without Bisshopesgate, London.

Doe with all humble thankefullnes acknowledg that wee haue received from the right wor^ll^ Sir Paule Pinder, Knight, of the aforenamed parrish, two potts gilt, and wrought engraven, weying two hundred and sixteene ounces ½, at vj ^s.^ viij ^d.^ by the ounce, in valew 72 ^ll.^ 3 ^s.^ 4 ^d.^

Likewise two platts weying threescore and six ounces twelue peny waight, att the former rate by the ounce, xxvj ^ll.^ iiij ^s.^

Likewise one pott weighing ffiftie-eight ounces, att ye former rate, xix ^ll.^ vj ^s.^ viij ^d.^ The totall is cxiij ^l.^ xiiij ^s.^ All which plate is given & dedicated by the aforenamed Sir Paule Pinder to ye honor of God and to the use of the Communion table of the parrish aforesaid.

WEE DOE further likewise with all humble thankfullnes acknowledg that wee haue received from the said Sir Paule Pinder three hundred poundes in money, to bee disposed of by us in Lands, for the vse of ye poore and distressed people of this aforenamed parrish; for which worthy and bountifull giftes wee doe first of all ascribe all honnor and praise to Almightie God.

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who hath stirred upp the hearte of this worthy benefactor to doe these and many other the like workes of honnor to God, and charitie & releife to his poore members on earth.

And next of all wee doe promise that wee will ever pray to the same great God long to preserve the life of this his faithfull servant on earth to his glory, and our comforte, and that hee will hereafter remember him concerning this, and not to wipe out ye good deeds that hee hath done to the howse of God, and his poore servants on earth.

Copia.

Thus doe wee acknowledge, & pray.

Thomas Worrall, Rector.
Daniell Goorsuch, Deputy.
Robert Vallence.
Thomas Rushull.
Henry Collett.
George Say.

It is much to be feared that the declining years of this great and excellent man's life were embittered by the misfortunes which befell the master that he revered and the cause that he loved. The last entry that I have found in which he is mentioned, with the exception of the register of his burial, is the following:—

19 June, 1643.

It is also ordered, by the Generall Consent of the said Vestry, and declared, that they are very willing that the Organs now standing in the Church shalbee, by the appointment of Sr. Paul Pinder, taken downe and removed where hee the said Sr Paul Pinder shall please to dispose of them.

This is significant enough. The organ was considered by the parish authorities of those days an idol, and ordered to be destroyed. To save from such a fate an instrument with which so many of his holiest feelings were associated, the worthy old knight petitioned for it. He was too great a man to be refused, and the vestry was "very willing" to accede to his wishes.

He died on the 22nd of August, 1650. His tablet in the church is of the same age as the present structure, but bears what appears to be a copy of the inscription on the original monument, and records him as "faithful in Negotiations Foreign and Domestic," and "eminent for Piety, Charity, Loyalty, and Prudence:" a glorious character fully and fairly deserved in an age which witnessed so many examples of an opposite quality. The register of his burial in our books is as follows:—

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September, 1650.

Sir Paule Pinder died the 22th of August, 1650, about 11 or 12 a clock att night, and was buried the third of September, att 7 a clock att night. A worthie Benefactor to the poore.

I very much question whether among the merchants in Italy, in the court of the Grand Seignior, or in those of his own sovereigns in England, Sir Paul Pinder was ever possessed of a more truly august presence than that in which all that remains of him on earth may yet be seen. Doubtless he mixed in many a dazzling and splendid scene, throughout his long life of merchant on the Rialto at Venice, of ambassador to one of the greatest capitals abroad, and of confident and favourite with his successive monarchs at home. That, however, in which he may be witnessed now has a solemn grandeur peculiarly its own. In an immense vault adjoining the present crypt of the parish church, and amid a noble "fellowship of death," his gigantic leaden coffin is conspicuous. Around him are heaped piles of similar memorials; but in death as in life he is without an equal. He still lives in the hearts of men, remembered for good and a name of blessing, while his enemies, and he had many, have met with the oblivion which they deserved.

Nos. 174, 175, and 176 on the west side of the street, and their opposite neighbours, 36, 37, 38, and 39, still conspicuously attest their foundation in the earlier half of the seventeenth century.

Passing along Bishopsgate Street Without, we arrive at No. 26, which, without any external indication, possesses two splendid rooms in the rear, with decorations in the style of Louis Quatorze. The graceful harmony of the flowing lines peculiar to this style leaves nothing to be desired.

Still Alley, on the other side of the street, contains several Elizabethan houses, which are at the present moment undergoing the metamorphosis previously alluded to. Walls are being built up to the projecting first-floor, and in a few weeks the houses will have new fronts, and most of their ancient peculiarities will be obliterated.

Crossing Liverpool Street, which, as indeed is the case with most of the smaller streets in the Ward, is modern, and consequently of no interest in our present inquiry, I must ask you to accompany

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me into White Hart Court. The inn itself has been rebuilt, but views of it in its former state have been published by Smith and others. It is, however, in the court-yard, a thoroughfare leading to Salvador House, that I wish you to notice a row of four houses, Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5. Each house is a portion of one beautiful design, constructed about the year 1610, either, we may be sure, by Inigo Jones or by one of his admirers. Between every window there is a delicate pilaster, each alternate one of a more marked character and prominent position; and, occupying the external space of the party-walls, are niches, which effectually relieve the monotony that might otherwise prevail. The whole group is a masterly specimen of the facility with which genius can create beauty even out of the most unpromising materials and under the most ordinary circumstances. It deserves the best attention of the professional architect, and of every admirer of creative art. (Plate XI.)

Salvador House was built in the first half of the last century, and has, like many of its neighbours, an imposing hall, a magnificent staircase, and well-proportioned rooms, but is not possessed of details which call for more minute description. A few of the apartments have enriched cornices, doorcases, &c. of the Louis Quatorze style, but much plainer than the instances to which I have already directed your notice.

As we return into the street we find ourselves close under the Church of St. Botolph, Bishopsgate. It was built by James Gold, in the year 1725; but, although an edifice of considerable merit, and naturally invested with no little interest in my own regard, it has been so often described and figured, that, in accordance with my decision previously announced, I leave it for objects hitherto unnoticed.

We now retrace a few of our last steps, and cross over to the east side of Bishopsgate Street, where we shall find Devonshire Street, leading to Devonshire Square. This square was built in the middle of the seventeenth century, and, if I mistake not, in the gardens rather than on the site of the town-house of the Earl of Devonshire. Many of the houses are of noble proportions, but they have suffered considerable mutilation and present few features of their original details.

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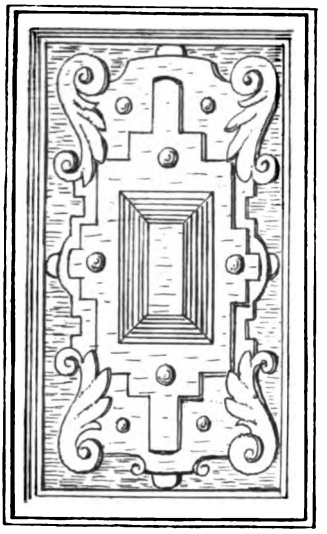

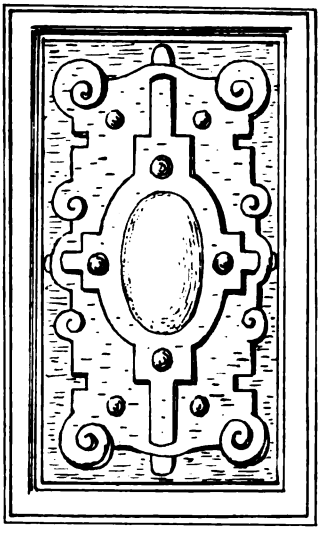

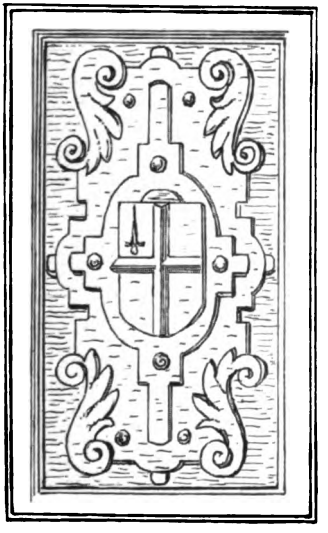

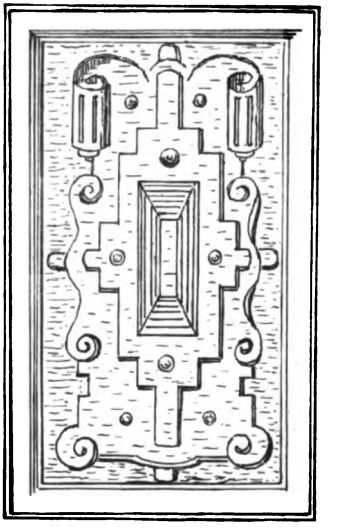

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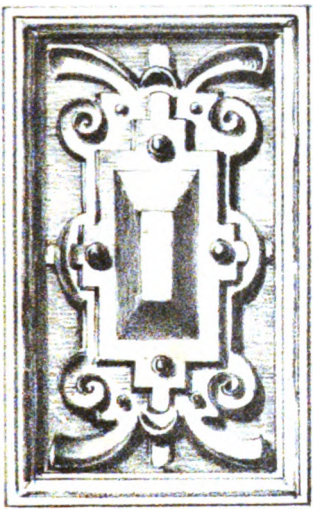

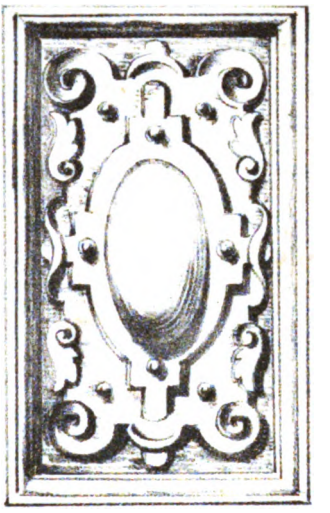

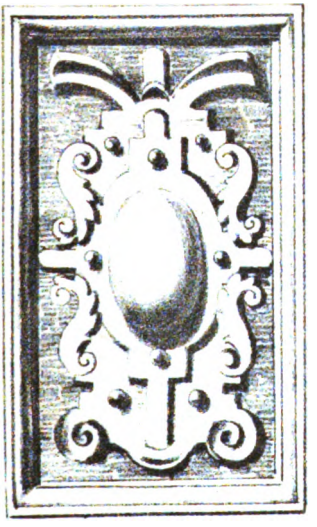

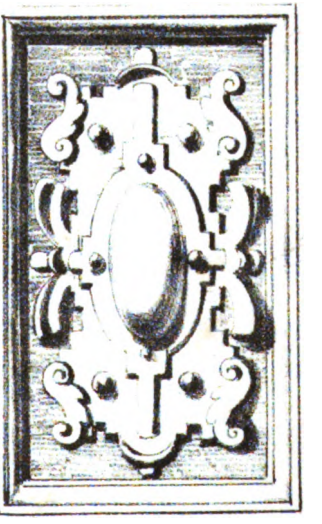

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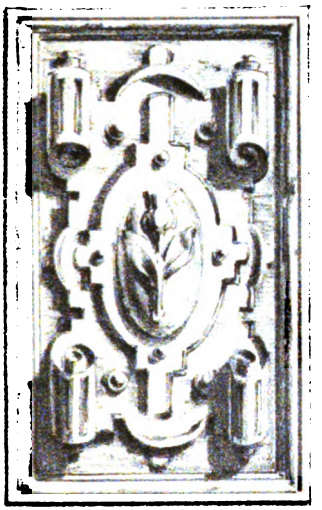
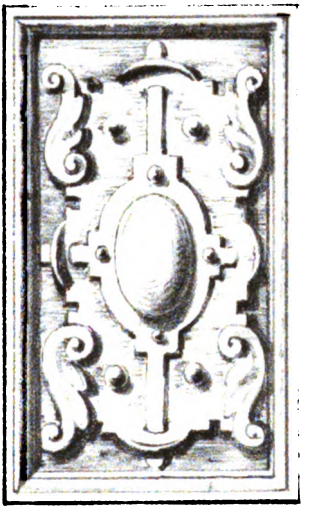
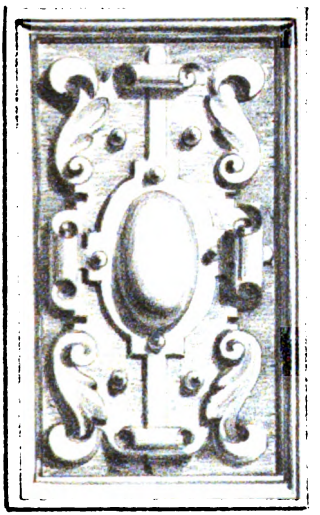
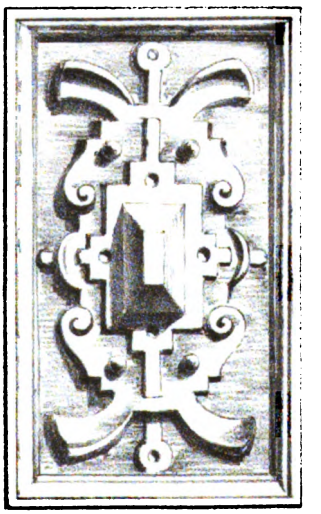
PLATE IV.









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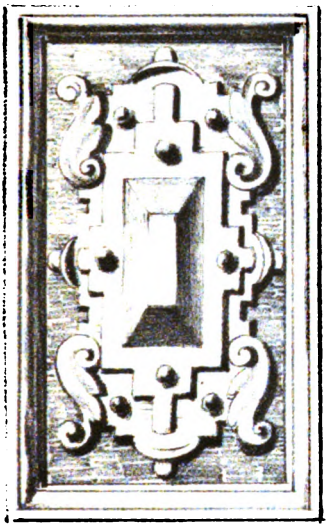

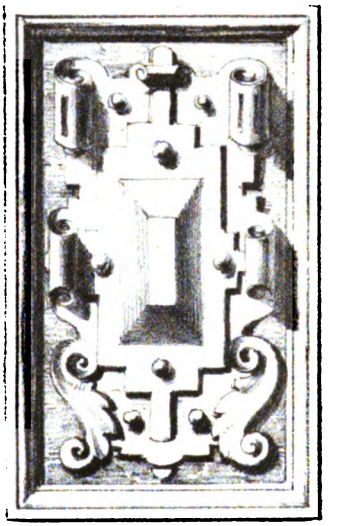

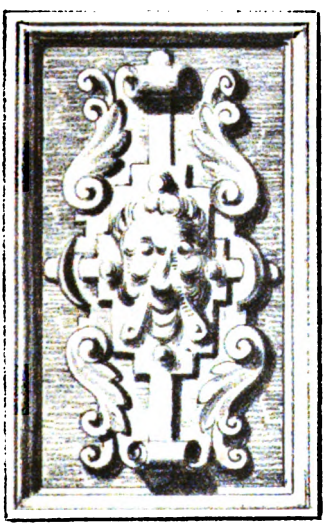

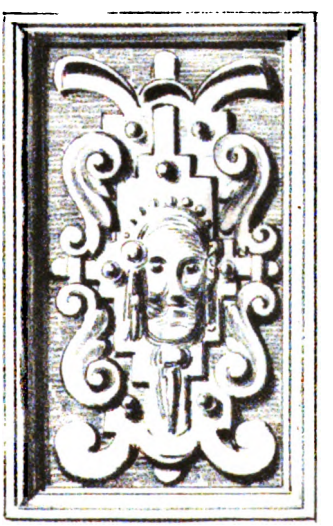

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PLATE VI.

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Cupbels & Co. from the House of Sir Paul Pindar

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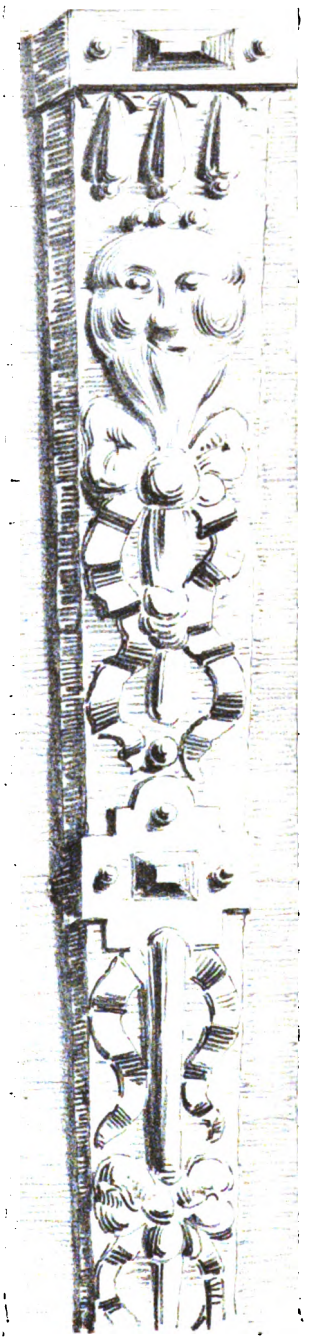

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Corbels &c. from the House of Sir Paul Pinder.

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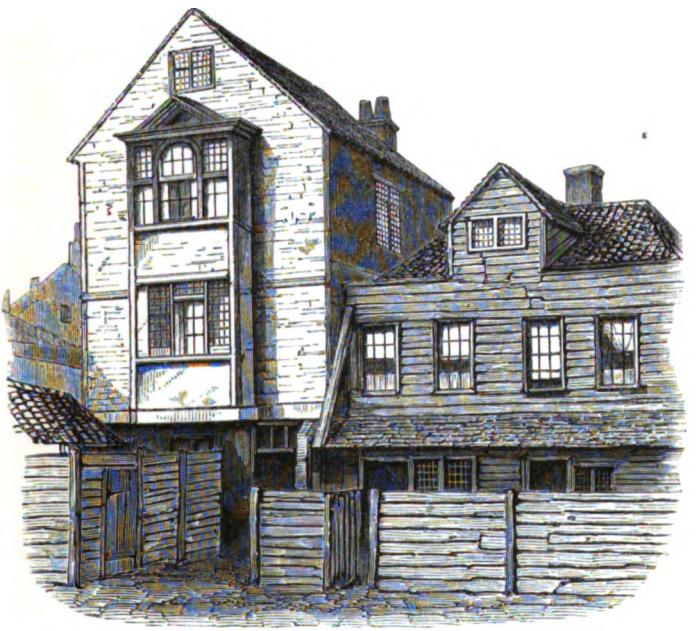

"THE LODGE,"
HALF MOON STREET, BISHOPSGATE STREET WITHOUT, 1857.

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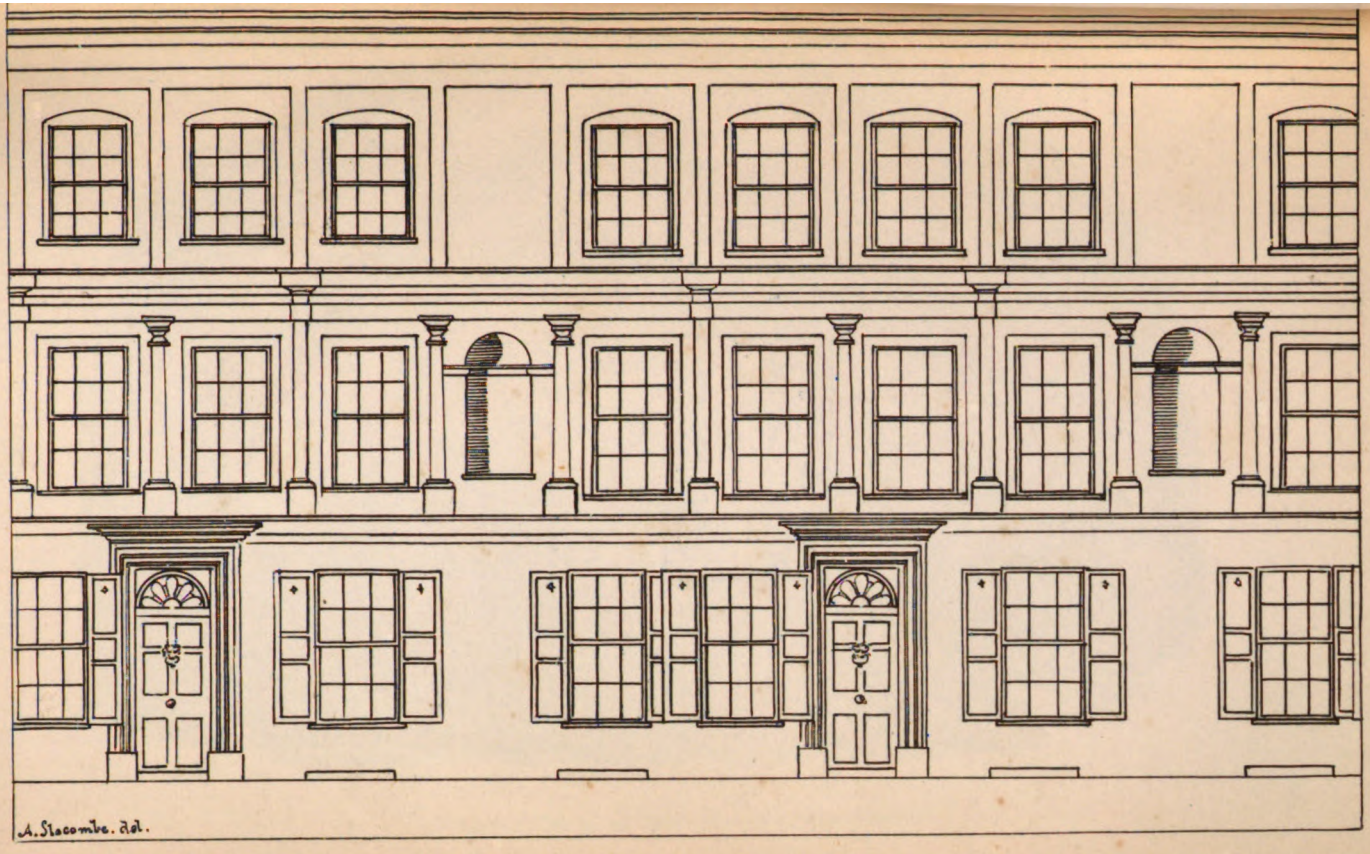

Elevation of Houses in White Hart Court, Bishopsgate Without, 1857.

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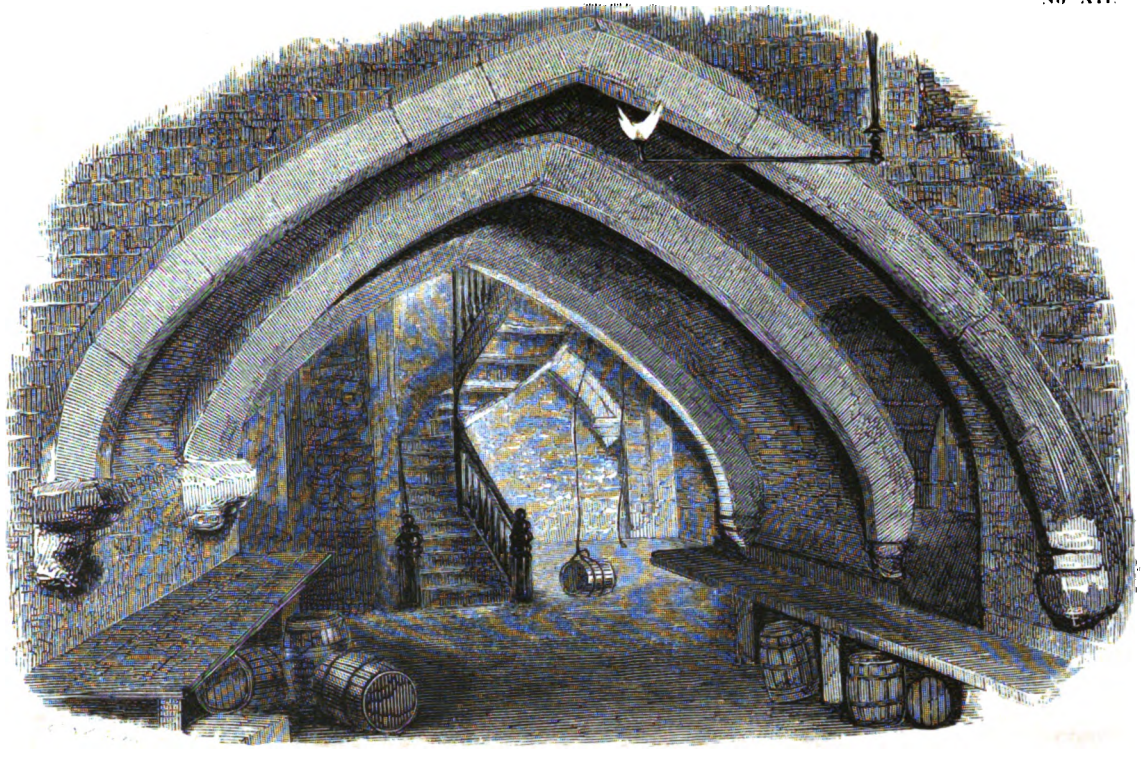

UNDERCROFT OF NO. 66, BISHOPSGATE STREET WITHIN.

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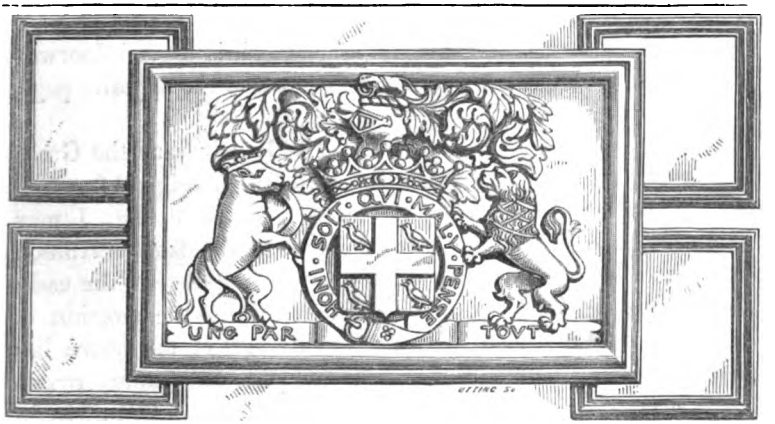
In the house at the corner of Devonshire Street, No. 18, Bishopsgate Street Without, it is not unlikely that we possess a portion of the Earl of Devonshire's mansion, or perhaps of that of Lord John Powlet, who is known to have had a house near this spot. It is of the Elizabethan age, but very much transformed and mutilated. There are, however, two internal decorations of a somewhat later period, of very great excellence and highly deserving of extended notice. One is a rich cornice used in several of the apartments, the character of which will be easily understood by the annexed engraving.

Cornice at No. 18, Bishopsgate Street Without.

It consists of a series of masks, fruit, and leaves, disposed alternately, and connected by ribands. The other, of which also a representation is appended,



Shield, &c., over a Fire-place in the same house.

exhibits the shield, supporters, crest, and motto of Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, the friend of Shakspeare, and

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is inserted in the wall over the fire-place of a room in the second floor.

We next pass Houndsditch, at one corner of which is an Elizabethan structure, No. 8, Bishopsgate Street Without. In the house at the opposite corner, No. 7, and also in an adjoining house, there are remarkably fine staircases and rooms on the first floor, the walls and ceilings of which are profusely ornamented in the graceful style known as that of Louis XIV.

Just beyond, a tablet, surmounted by the figure of a mitre, inserted in each opposite wall, informs us that adjoining to that spot Bishopsgate formerly stood. Proceeding into Bishopsgate Street Within, we arrive at No. 66, where I had a few years since the good fortune to observe, and first call attention to, a finely-groined undercroft of the fourteenth century. (Plate XII.) It is now used as a warehouse for cheese. Undercrofts exist beneath several houses in the City, but this one had previously escaped the notice of archæologists.

On either side of the street are houses of the older periods, pleasantly mingling with later structures. The gables are in general masked by parapets, or have been entirely removed; but the overhanging floors arrest our attention, and reveal the ancient origin of the edifices, which hardly any alteration will succeed in completely annihilating.

At the end of Pea-hen Court, just beyond, is a good doorway of the time of James II. It is represented on the opposite page. (Plate XIII.)

Several ancient inns now follow. The Four Swans, the Green Dragon, and the Bull, retain a good deal of their original features, though many portions are modernised. The Bull Inn, I may remark in passing, was the London house of the famous Hobson the Carrier, and in the yard was the temporary stage of the early players, before Burbage obtained a patent for the erection of a permanent theatre. Unfortunately this part of the house has lost the whole of its primitive appearance. The gallery round the courtyard, a constant accompaniment of our old inns, is, in the Four Swans, of three stories. The fronts have been glazed, and much of its original character is necessarily sacrificed; but, notwithstanding, it is one of the best examples that we possess of an ancient hostel. (Plate XIV.)

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DOORWAY

IN PEA-HEN COURT, BISHOPSGATE STREET WITHIN.

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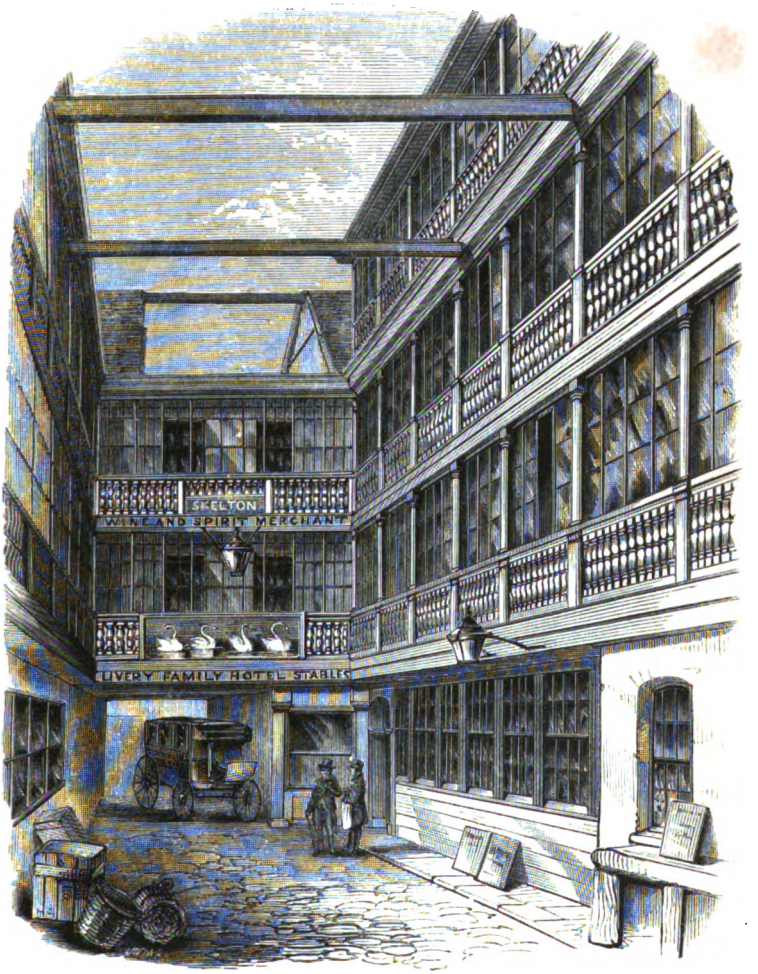

COURTYARD OF "THE FOUR SWANS,"

BISHOPSGATE STREET WITHIN, 1857.

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Elevation and Details of a House in Great St. Helen's.

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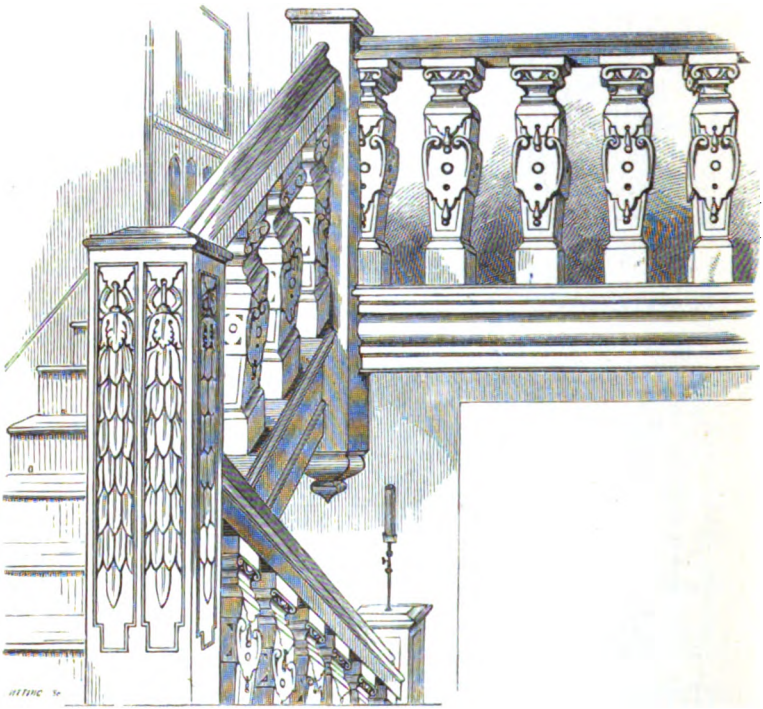

STAIRCASE
IN NO. 9, GREAT SAINT HELEN'S, BISHOPSGATE.

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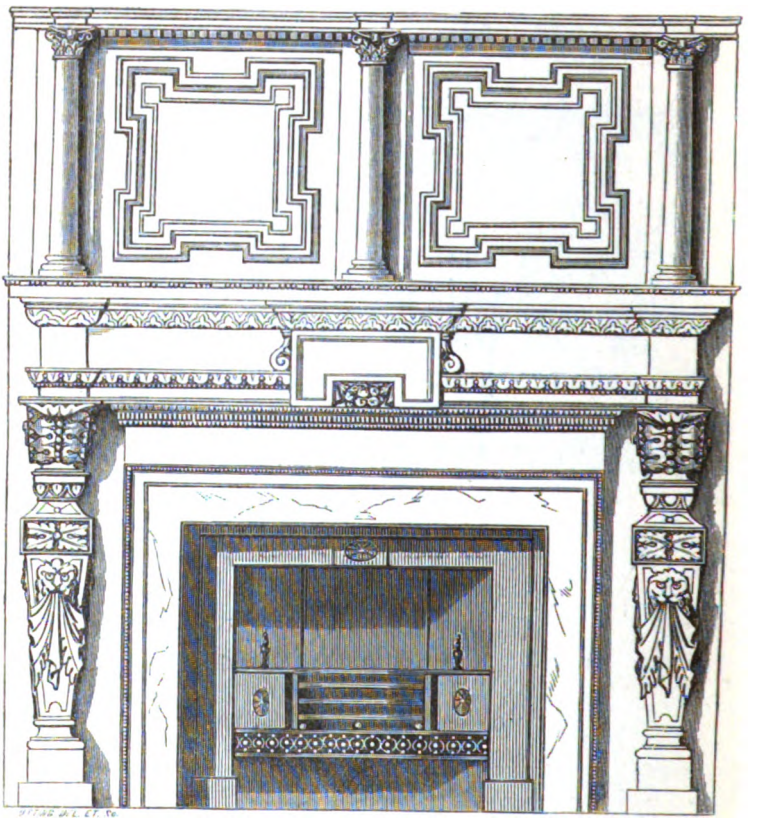

CHIMNEY PIECE
IN NO. 9, GREAT SAINT HELEN'S, BISHOPSGATE.

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HOUSE,

NO. 12, GREAT SAINT HELEN'S, BISHOPSGATE.

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Passing the Church of St. Ethelburga, almost hidden by shops, and St. Helen's Place, under some of the houses of which are portions yet remaining of the foundations of the Priory, we enter from Bishopsgate Street, through a gateway which may be of the age of Elizabeth, the area and courts called Great St. Helen's. This quarter also is exceedingly rich in architectural treasures. Conspicuous is the Church itself, occupying the middle of the area, already oftentimes described and figured. No. 1 is the modern entrance to Crosby-Hall, a portion of a Gothic mansion unrivalled in London, but which I have described so minutely in previous pages of our Transactions that further notice is unnecessary. No. 2 has a good doorway and staircase of the period of Charles I. Nos. 3 and 4 are of Elizabethan date, with characteristic corbels. Nos. 8 and 9 are modern subdivisions of a superb house. (Plate XV.) It is of brick, and, as will be seen from the annexed elevation, is ornamented with engaged pilasters of the same material, which are furnished with stone capitals. On the front is the date 1646, clearly that of the erection of The mansion, as is evidenced by the style of its construction. The staircase, here represented, is of unsurpassed excellence, and admirable as a model for future works. (Plate XVI.)

A very fine chimneypiece still exists in one of the rooms of the first floor (Plate XVII.), and is equally worthy of imitation. In this, as well as in other cases, where the draughtsman has so accurately performed his task, a verbal description is uncalled for, and would only occupy valuable space.

Proceeding round the corner, where, on the right hand, is a timber Elizabethan structure, we arrive at another excellent design, Nos. 11 and 12. (Plate XVIII.) This also is a house of red brick, ornamented with pilasters of the same material. Over one of the windows is a tablet, ornamented with a cornice, and intended probably for the insertion of a date, or the initials of the owner; though, if so, the purpose has not been carried out. The character of the doorways is rather later: but I feel little hesitation in attributing this plain but truly artistic design to that master of beauty Inigo Jones. The south entrance of the Church of St. Helen, which is in sight from this point, is confessedly by him, and bears date 1633. This house may have been erected at the same time.

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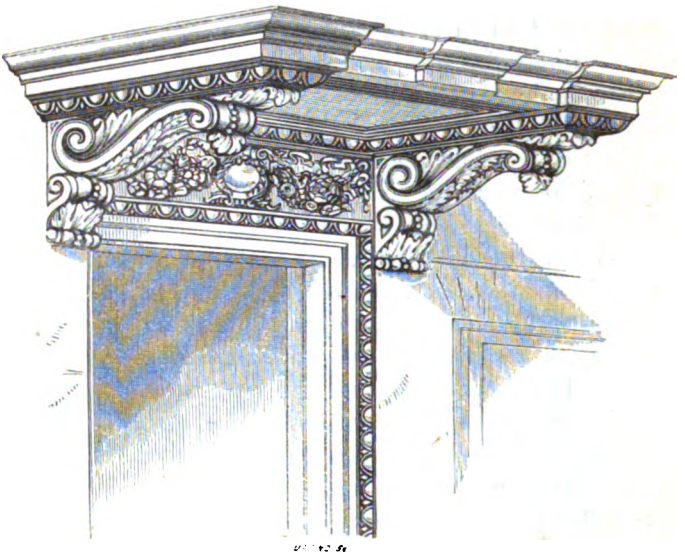
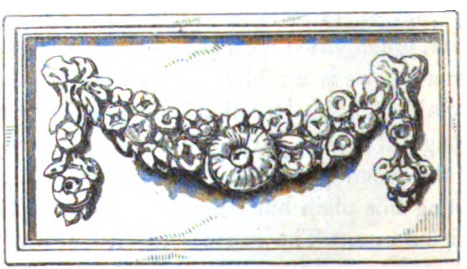
Returning into the main street, which here consists on both sides almost entirely of Elizabethan edifices considerably defaced by modern additions, we come to Crosby Square, where, at No. 3, is a very fine doorway, here represented, of the time of Charles II., and in the style of Sir Christopher Wren.



Doorway in Crosby Square.

The square was built in 1677, on the site of that part of Sir John Crosby's mansion which was destroyed by fire the year before.

A few steps further is a house now called "Crosby Hall Chambers," No. 25, Bishopsgate Street Within. The front towards the street has lost all its ancient peculiarities, except two beautiful festoons of flowers inserted between the windows of the first



Festoon of Flowers, No. 25, Bishopsgate Street Within.

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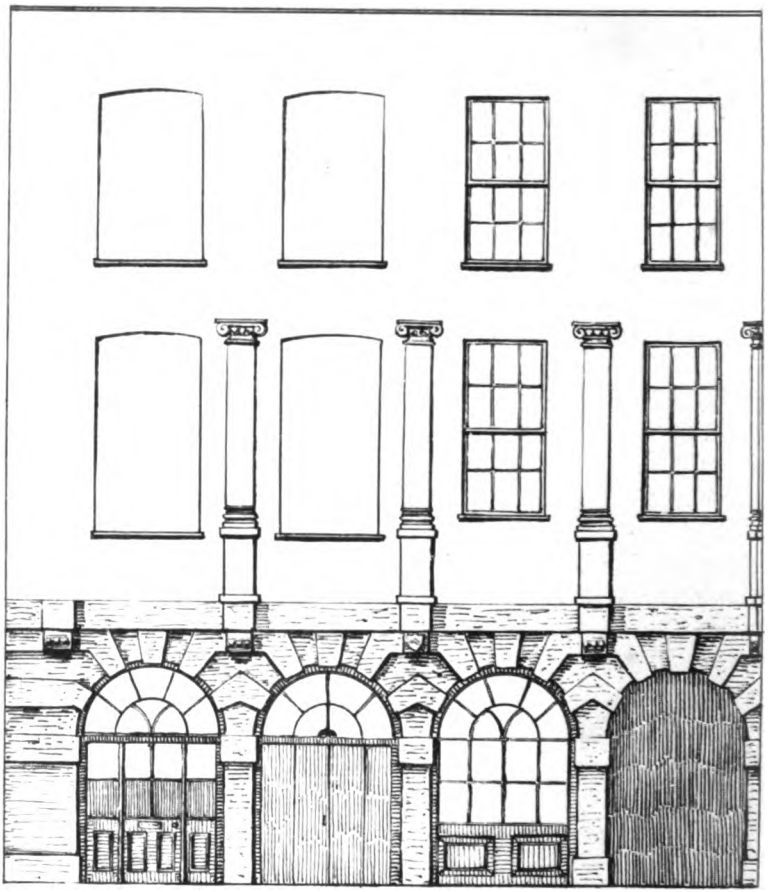

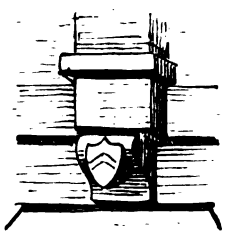

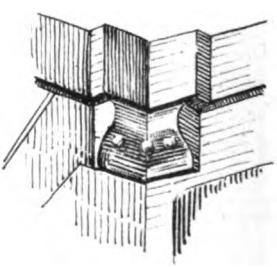

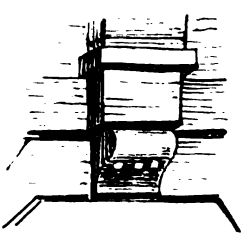

A. Stocombe. del.

Elevation and Details of a House called "Crosby Hall Chambers."

and second floors. One of them is represented in the engraving.

The north front, which faces an inside court, is very remarkable. An elevation, with details, will be found on the opposite page (Plate XIX). The base is composed of rustic work, and the wall above is relieved with pilasters and capitals. The whole of this front is another pleasant specimen of the graceful ease with which the genius of Inigo Jones, for to him I attribute it, could invest ordinary objects with an air of essential beauty. His are no ugly forms, no architectural monstrosities, no platitudes of brick and mortar, depending for their power to please on a wretched mass of meretricious ornament, which in very truth does but reveal their innate worthlessness and despicable hypocrisy, that pretends to be much, but is actually nothing. Nor are his works characterised by an entire forgetfulness of the use for which an edifice is designed, or by a poverty of invention in the employment of details. You may search in vain among his creations for marks conspicuous enough in many other directions, the meagreness alike of design and execution, the manifest impress of a grovelling mind and of a contemptible taste, which is stamped indelibly on every portion, from the stucco plinth to the ridiculous chimney-pots! His structures, on the contrary, attract at once and without effort our admiration and kindly regard; the spirit of grace and beauty seems to brood over them, and they instinctively elicit the spectator's sense of the beautiful and the true. Unfortunately we are in possession of too few of them; and those in the City which can be attributed to him, or which so far breathe his spirit as to exhibit his influence on the minds and works of others, are necessarily confined to a small space. I have accordingly mentioned every one that is known to me as occurring within the limits of our present ramble. His works, with a few exceptions, are fragmentary; but he never drew a line or moulded an ornament without giving unmistakeable evidence of consummate ability and a master-mind. Had he erected or designed nothing save his Banqueting House at Whitehall, or his inimitable Water-Gate at York Stairs, he would have well deserved an immortality of fame. But while Sir Paul Pinder was dying, not more, it is to be feared, of old

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age than of a heart broken and bleeding for his country's woes, his accomplished architect, a warm adherent of the same sacred cause, was neglected by the party which each of them was too far advanced in years to be able actively to oppose. The civil wars put a period to his rebuilding of Old St. Paul's, of which, I may remark, his magnificent west front was but the first instalment, and not intended, as some have supposed, for amalgamation with the Gothic structure then existing—an enormity which such a mind and taste as his could never have been capable of imagining. Strange to say, his exquisite designs are to this hour unknown to the majority of architects, though abounding as they do with the loveliest fancies for edifices of all descriptions. He died, old and miserable, June 21, 1652, having lived to see the monarch whom he had served beheaded in front of his own Banqueting House, and almost all his comrades and patrons laid to rest in the grave.

In a room behind the front last described is the chimney-piece represented on the opposite page (Plate XX.). It bears the date 1633, and is a gorgeous specimen of English ornamental work of the earlier half of the seventeenth century.

A few steps further, and our present walk is ended. The irregular outline of the Ward which we have been traversing has carried us far into the heart of the City. Portsoken, Lime Street, Coleman Street, Broad Street, Cornhill, and other Wards have been in turn passed; and, as we cross into Gracechurch Street, we arrive at the termination of our ramble. In that portion of Gracechurch Street which is included in the Ward of Bishopsgate, I am aware of nothing either external or internal which calls for particular notice, as the street has been again and again rebuilt, except perhaps some portions of the Spread Eagle Inn. These, however, present no unusual features, and are in no respect so interesting as those of the ancient hostels to which reference has already been made.

Let me hope that I have not exercised your patience by all this detail, or confused you by taking you through the labyrinth of streets, alleys, and courts, along which our course has progressed, bewildering enough to a stranger, how familiar soever to a constant resident. I am well aware that an itinerary, though

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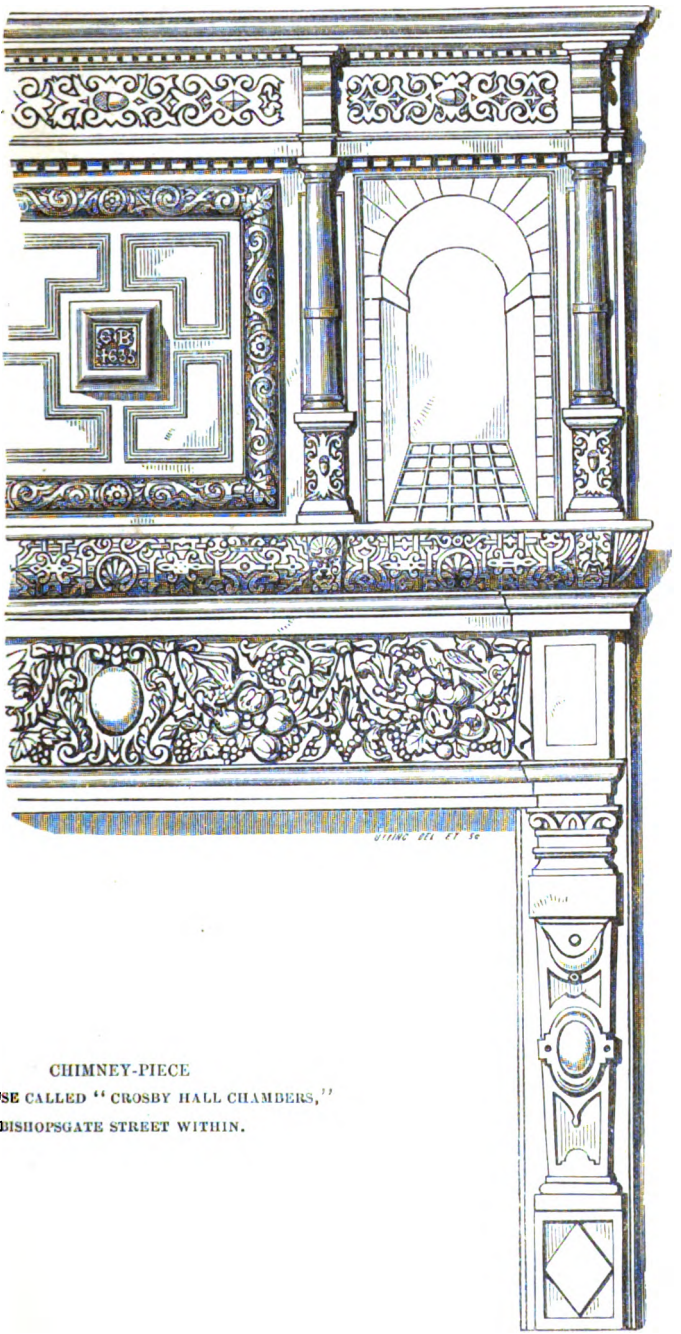

CHIMNEY-PIECE
IN THE HOUSE CALLED "CROSBY HALL CHAMBERS,"
BISHOPSGATE STREET WITHIN.

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ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

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exceeding the results of all other topographical labours in real utility, is not so interesting to the generality of students as contributions of a different kind. Had I, for example, selected some one house, and delineated its changes through various periods, or pursued the fortunes of some one family, and exhibited them as they appeared in successive generations, I could, no doubt, have presented you with something more obviously attractive. But allow me to add, that such an offering would not have been a hundredth part so valuable as the present. An examination of a few books and manuscripts would have furnished the materials, and I should have been saved a considerable amount of unrecognised labour. But it is probable that I should have given you little or nothing which had not been already placed on record, and which had not thus become common property. This was exactly contrary to my desire and aim. It is a rock on which too many archæologists are prone to strike. But instead of this, I have endeavoured to perpetuate the memory of objects as yet unrecorded, and for the most part and by the most of us unknown; objects, too, which in all probability will soon be beyond the reach of such reverent care. I have introduced you to creations, which the very soul of beauty has selected for her home; a beauty not dependent on the presence of merely superadded ornamentation, or on the magnitude of its several proportions, but an essential and positive element of the original design. And, lastly, I have endeavoured to rescue our study from the charge of inutility too frequently brought against it, by showing our need of such appliances as the edifices before us can easily and promptly afford, by looking upon details not only with a theoretical but with a practical eye, and, in our walk among the relics of the past, by keeping full in our view the requirements of the present.

[The Council desire to offer their best acknowledgments to those gentlemen who have liberally furnished the greater number of the engravings which illustrate the foregoing paper. A list of all such donors, with the particulars of their contributions, will be found in the Preface.]

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Centre of Chimney-piece from "The Lodge," Half Moon Street, Bishopsgate Without, now in the possession of the Rev. Thomas Hugo.

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MIDDLESEX
IN THE TIME OF THE DOMESDAY SURVEY.

BY EDWARD GRIFFITH, ESQ., F.R.S.

It is a curious fact that we should possess in this country a general Survey, by royal commission, of all the landed property in England, made now eight hundred years ago, the like of which cannot be found in any other country in Europe, nay, in the world—such a Survey, too, as has never been attempted since, and as no minister of the crown would now dare to advise under the royal authority.

True it is that the Domesday Survey is the result of a very arbitrary act of the Crown. William I. having been invited by a large portion of the English to become their king, and having defeated his rival in battle, did not venture to assume the adjunct of Conqueror to his name, or to play the tyrant in his acts, till he had (in a great degree stealthily) fixed himself on his throne, and cheated the people into receiving him as the legitimate and chosen successor of their sainted Edward. We find no charter dated "post Conquestum Angliæ" till many years after he became king. Shakespear wrote advisedly—

> This England never did (nor never shall)
> Lie at the proud foot of a conqueror,
> But when it first did help to wound itself.

It is well known that some eighteen or nineteen years after his accession he issued commissions into all the counties of England to make inquiries as to who were the landowners, the nature of their tenures, and various particulars unnecessary to be stated here. As the Saxon Chronicle says—"After these things the King held a great council, and had much discourse with his Witan of his land, as to how the land was holden, and by what men. He sent over all England into evey shire his men, and let them inquire how many hundred hides were in each shire, and what land and cattle the King himself had in the shire, and what rent he ought to receive yearly in each. He let them also

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inquire how much land his archbishops had, and his other bishops, and his abbots, and earls, and what and how much every man had who held land within the kingdom, as well in land as in cattle, and how much each was worth. He so permitted the country to be surveyed that there was not a hide or a ploughland that he thought it a shame to tell, or an ox, or a cow, or a hog omitted. And all these things were brought to him in writing." And in another place the Chronicle goes on—"So that there was not a hide of land in England of which he knew not the possessor, or how much it was worth."

I propose now to take a general glance at the result of these inquiries as to our county (the smallest of all but one). If the whole were translated, it would, I fear, afford but little interest. The entire record is now in print, most accurately copied from the original, and is therefore easily accessible to every one who would study its details. I would therefore merely make such observations upon it, in relation to our county, as I venture to hope may not be altogether uninteresting to the Society.

The feudal system had, at the time of the Domesday Survey, been established throughout England. The King, as lord paramount, was ultimate owner of all estates; whatever was unclaimed, whatever was forfeited, then as now, legally belonged to the Crown. There was, and is, no such thing as allodial land; that is, land held absolutely and without a superior in the country. And, as this state of things was then comparatively new, it was doubtless very important that the Crown should have some knowledge of every estate in the country, in which it had universally a reversionary interest, and very generally a present interest in the fee-farm rent paid by each landowner to his feudal lord the King, or to his mesne lord, for his estate. Hence the Survey in general is commonly considered in a fiscal light, as intended to ascertain the rents and rights of the Crown. The amounts of these rents are not stated in the Survey, but they were all put in charge to the several sheriffs, and were returned yearly into the Exchequer, where an account of them is still preserved, back to the time of Henry III., on what are called the pipe rolls, a series of records, next to Domesday, the most ancient and complete of any in the kingdom.

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The Survey of our county begins, as in all the rest, with some account of what demesne lands the Crown held in possession, and not granted out. The ancient demesne *manors* of the Crown, that is, manors held in his own hands by Edward the Confessor and by William I., conferred many privileges on their tenants, which need not be particularised here. These privileges were, however, for several centuries, of much importance, and were frequently claimed as such in our Courts of Law, where the issue, whether the land was of ancient demesne or not, was never decided by a jury, as in the ordinary case of mere matters of fact, but was always determined by a reference to the Domesday Book, and if the manor in question were found to be entered there under the head of "Terra Regis," that fact alone was conclusive in affirmance of its ancient demesne rights.

Now it is remarkable, I think, that in our county there is no *manor* returned as belonging to the Crown. The entry of the King's property in the county is but short, and I may be excused, perhaps, for translating it here, but as no manor is mentioned, there can be no ancient demesne manor in the county at the present day.

"In Osulvestane (Ossulstone) hundred King William holds 12 acres of land and a half of no-man's-land—this land was and is worth 5*s.* (yearly); King Edward (the Confessor) held it also. In the same hundred the King hath 30 cotars, who render by the year 14*s.* 10½*d.* At Holeburn the King hath two cotars, who render by the year 20*d.* to the King's sheriff. In the time of King Edward the Sheriff of Middlesex always kept these cotars. William the Chamberlayn renders to the King's sheriff 6*s.* by the year for the land where his vineyard is set."

I would first observe, that the only locality in the county in which these possessions were situated, mentioned in the Survey, is the hundred of Ossulstone, comprehending, perhaps, nearly one-third of the county, and it is now scarcely possible to trace at what part of this extensive hundred they were: the vineyard mentioned was probably on the site of what afterwards became the property of the see of Ely, and subsequently of Lord Hatton, where the dancing chancellor had his strawberry garden, mentioned in Queen Elizabeth's time.

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The cotars (cotarii) seem to have been tenants in fee of small portions of land.

It is not very certain what the *nanesmanesland* is (it is so written): that it can only mean unclaimed land would seem obvious to every one, and that may be simply its meaning, but the word is rarely mentioned in Domesday, and would seem to bear a sort of allodial rather than a feudal signification; but when it is considered that all unclaimed land belonged, under the feudal system, to the King, it is not very intelligible why it should be so seldom returned, or why it should be so in this instance.

One of the greatest obscurities in which time has involved this ancient Survey is in reference to the measures of land there mentioned. Much learning has been exhausted, and ink spilt, on the subject of the word *acre*, reiterated in every page of Domesday, and the safest conclusion as to its extent is, perhaps, that the acre varied in different parts of the country, and that it is utterly impossible to fix any determinate value on the word, as a word of measure or quantity, when used in that record. Long after the Conqueror's time, for instance, the Cornish acre contained about thirty statute acres; and the difficulty is by no means cleared up in documents subsequent to Domesday, where the word acre is used, until the statute of Henry VII., fixing its extent as an universal measure of land all over the kingdom, was passed.

To return to a consideration of the *hundreds*, or great leading divisions into which the several counties are separated, it may be sufficient to say here that in many of the counties there is much obscurity and difficulty on the subject. In some, more hundreds appear than are now known to exist, while in others there are less; and manors and places now in one hundred are frequently found referred to in Domesday as in another hundred, and perhaps in a distant part of the county.

The origin of hundreds, popularly attributed to Alfred, as well as that of all the other territorial divisions, both lay and ecclesiastical, is, doubtless, much connected with ownership of property, and hence we find outlying portions of a county, or hundred, or parish, frequently surrounded by another county, hundred, or parish; because the great landowner who held the

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bulk of his estate when these divisions were instituted, in one part, held also outlying portions elsewhere.

But all these difficulties with regard to the hundreds in most of the counties do not exist in Middlesex. The six existing hundreds are all found, and no more, and, in so far as can be judged by a general inspection, their boundaries were and are the same.

Twenty-two owners of *manors* in Middlesex are returned in Domesday; but of these the Church, that is the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Abbot of Westminster, the Abbot of the Holy Trinity at Rouen in Normandy, and the Abbot of Barking, had indeed the lion's share. By far the largest portion of the largest hundred, that of Ossulstone, seems to have belonged to the Bishop and Canons of St. Paul.

Stepney appears to have been a manor of enormous extent, held by the Bishop of London at the time of the Survey, and several sub-manors appendant to it were held by the Canons. There is a remarkable entry as to some of these, viz.: "that the Canons of the Church might give and sell their lands to whom they willed without the licence of the Bishop;" a right they availed themselves of sometimes, as appears by subsequent historical facts. Thus the manor of Portpool, which afterwards belonged to Lord Gray, now Gray's Inn, was the property of one of the canons, who alienated it, and the corpus of the present prebend of Portpool, if indeed any estate remain, is very trifling, though it formerly included the whole manor. So that the entire of these vast church properties can hardly be said to have been holden in mortmain in perpetuity, even at the remote period in question.

The present parishes of St. Leonard, Stratford, Bow, Hackney, St. Matthew Bethnal Green, Whitechapel, Spitalfields, St. George-in-the-East, Shadwell, and Limehouse, are all supposed to have been hamlets in Stepney Manor, and to have been carved out of the original parish.

Then we find that the Canons of St. Paul held Twyford, Willesden, Harlesden, Totehill, St. Pancras, two manors at Islington, Newington, Heston, Hoxton, and Drayton; so that a vast proportion of this hundred of Ossulstone must have belonged to St. Paul's Church.

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The Manor of Tiburn, in the same hundred, belonged to the Abbot of the Holy Trinity at Rouen.

The Abbot of Westminster held the manor of his church, also in Ossulstone Hundred, with a sub-manor where four arpenni (an unknown quantity again) of vineyard were lately planted; also Hampstead, and a sub-manor, probably Belsize, and finally Hendon, in the hundred of Helestone.

Eight lay proprietors are returned as holding manors in this hundred, but they were apparently not large, and had no sub-manors appendant.

I have already stated how much it is to be regretted that all the words of measure and quantity used in the Domesday Book have become so entirely obsolete as to be useless for all present purposes, but I would add that there are about 95 manors mentioned in the Survey of our county; these 95 manors are said to have contained altogether about 867 hides, or rather they were rated to the Danegelt in the Saxon times as for that number of hides. The number of square statute acres which the county now contains is pretty well ascertained, viz. 240,000, so that by dividing these acres by the 867 hides we might seem to approximate to a knowledge of the extent of the hide in statute acres; but the result by no means corresponds with preconceived opinions, and we are subject to considerable error from the probable fact that the hide, after all, was not a determinate measure, but had reference to value rather than extent of surface, like the old travelling-posts on the continent, which were measured not by lengths, but by the goodness or difficulty of the road in each post. We cannot be certain that a hide of very productive land was the same in extent as one much less profitable.

Selecting the large number of existing manors returned in Domesday, we shall, I believe, generally find that the spiritual and lay jurisdictions in the county were co-equal, and therefore that the manor and its parish were co-extensive, though some exceptions doubtless occur.

With regard to the state and cultivation of the county at the time the Survey was made, we find (and the observation applies to all the other counties as well,) that in each manor the land, *terra*, is universally limited to land in tillage; then follow the meadow and pasture, *prata et pastura;* and lastly the wood, *silva*,

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which seems, I think, to include the mere common and waste; and the number of acres of each description, except as to the wood, is given. Oddly enough, the wood or waste is particularised in no other way than by the number of hogs it will support by its pannage, or hog-feed from acorns, &c. Although, therefore, we cannot get at the absolute measure of wood or waste in any given manor, we can compare the several manors among themselves in this respect, and thereby arrive at the relative proportions of cultivated and uncultivated land. Now the pannage for all the manors in the whole county appears to be sufficient for, in round numbers, about 20,000 hogs, more accurately 19,470; the several manors in Elthorn Hundred will be found equal to nearly 8,000; in Edmonton and in Ossulstone to about 4,000 each; in Gore to rather more than 2,000; and in Isleworth and Spelthorn to 600 or 700 only together. From these data I should conclude that the south-western parts of the county, especially such portions of it as abutted on the Thames and on the Coln, were much more productive and profitable than the rest.

Modern historians complain of the want of historical records in relation to the kingdom of the East-Saxons, including Middlesex (the smallest of the Heptarchy); it is in vain therefore to expect much reliable information as to our county before the period when it became the metropolitan and most important of them all. That the East-Saxon kingdom was an excerpt from that of Kent seems tolerably clear; and it is certain that the Church of St. Paul was erected and endowed by Ethelbert, King of Kent, uncle of Sebert, King of the East-Saxons, about the year 610.

King Athelstan gave also largely to St. Paul's. He died in 941; and William the Conqueror found that Church in possession of the property above mentioned in Middlesex in 1066, so that the Domesday Survey may be said to give us some account of all that part of the county which belonged to St. Paul's for about 400 years before the Conquest.

Among the general inferences to be deduced from the Domesday Survey of Middlesex, we may, I think, gather—

That London was then well-nigh confined within its own wall.

That Westminster had no existence as a town.

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That the principal suburban houses (if any) were on the eastern and north-eastern parts of the City, *i. e.* from the Wall to the River Lea eastward, the Thames marshes south, and the rising ground approaching Hornsey north.

That Stepney, or Stebenhithe, and its several dependencies, formed the most populous parts of the county out of the city, and were probably the most profitable and productive also; and, in confirmation of this view, we may observe incidentally that in 1299 a Parliament was holden in the house of the Lord Mayor of London at Stepney, when Edward I. confirmed the Great Charter.

That the northern part of the county, in the hundreds of Ossulstone, Edmonton, and Gore, included a vast deal of wild, waste, and woodland.

And that its most productive portion, next to the alluvial land of Stebenhithe, was between the Thames, the Coln, and the northern woodland as before mentioned, though many of us recollect much of the waste land of Hounslow Heath before it was reduced to tillage as at present.

It is evident from Domesday Book that at the period of its date there was no royal residence in the county, except the Tower of London; and, whatever may be the importance of the metropolitan county at the present day (and it is hardly possible to overrate that importance), it owes it all to the progressive wealth, magnificence, and influence of the City of London. Neither our Sovereigns nor our Parliament had any fixed local habitation in the county till London became the metropolis of England, and the emporium of the whole world. May we long have to boast of her proud pre-eminence, from which civilisation, learning, and religion may radiate over the whole earth, and promote the happiness of the human family to generations still distant!

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ANSWER FILED IN EQUITY RESPECTING THE PARK AND COMMON AT HANWORTH.

TEMP. CHARLES II.

The manor of Hanworth became the property of the crown in the reign of Henry VIII., and was the occasional residence either of himself or of his children. In 1528 we find him inviting Wolsey to make use of it, on account of the prevalence of the plague.* Payments to the keeper of Hanworth park occur in 1530—1532 in the Privy Purse Expenses of Henry VIII. edited by Sir Harris Nicolas, pp. 49, 66, 142, 255; and in the Privy Purse Expenses of the Princess Mary, edited by Sir Fred. Madden, pp. 58, 126, it appears that she was resident there in Feb. 1537-8 and in Aug. 1543. After king Henry's death the manor was occupied by queen Katharine (Parr), upon whom it had been settled in dower: and it was here that she spent in the summer of 1547 a few happy weeks with her new husband the lord admiral Seymour, the lady Elizabeth, then fifteen years of age, remaining a member of their family. Here it was that the lord admiral indulged in those familiarities with the princess which were afterwards made a grave charge against him: tickling her in her bed, in order to wake her in the morning; and in the garden cutting her gown, which was of black cloth, into a hundred pieces.† It is right, however, to mention that on both occasions the queen was present, and a partaker in the misdemeanor. It is nearly fifty years after when we find the same Elizabeth, still active and vigorous, hunting in Hanworth park in September 1600.

At the beginning of his reign, in the summer of 1603, king James I. paid a visit to Hanworth, and there conferred the honour of knighthood on ten gentlemen;‡ but we do not find him repeat his visit on any later occasion, for he had discovered that the eastern part of the county, in the neighbourhood of Enfield and Theobalds, was better suited for his sports of the field.

* State Papers, 4to. 315.

† The particulars are given by Lysons, in his Middlesex Parishes, quoted from the Cecill Papers, by Haynes.

‡ These were, Sir Thomas Gardiner and Sir Thomas Grymes both of Surrey, Sir William Walsh of Worcestershire, Sir John Townsend of Shropshire, Sir George Trenchard of Dorsetshire, Sir John Foliott of Worcestershire, Sir Henry Poole and Sir John Paulet both of Wiltshire, Sir Thomas Crompton of Herefordshire, and Sir John Langton of Lancashire: among which names there are several unfortunate misprints as they are given in Nichols's Progresses, &c. of King James I. vol. i. p. 167.

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Hanworth became the country seat of one of his Scotish favourites, James Hay, earl of Carlisle; and in 1627 (Dec. 11) it was granted by Charles I. in fee to Sir Roger Palmer and Alexander Stafford. These are supposed by Lysons to have been trustees for Sir Francis Cottington, another royal favourite, who had been ambassador in Spain, was then chancellor of the exchequer and master of the wards, and afterwards became lord treasurer.

Sir Francis was apparently already settled at Hanworth, at least some months before, for on the 16th April, 1627, sir Peter Wiche, knight, (who was ambassador at Constantinople,) was married at Hanworth to "Mrs. Jane Meridith a virgin, and daughter of Sir William Meridith,"* and who was the sister of Lady Cottington.

In the following year† Sir Francis was busy in his improvements at Hanworth, and, in a letter to Lord Strafford, with whom he corresponded on the most friendly and familiar terms, he describes the growth of a long brick wall about the gardens, and provision for a "multitude of pheasants, partridges, and wild-fowl," that were to be bred there; the erection of a large room with a fountain and other rare devices, and "an open gallery painted by the hand of a second Titian."‡ He looked forward with glee to "the amazement of the barbarous Northern folk" that inhabited that part of Middlesex,§ when they should see the well-cut hedges and dainty walks, and that "the old porter with a long beard" was like to have a good revenue by admitting the strangers that would flock to see these rarities. "My wife," he adds,—she was the widow of sir Robert Brett,‖ "is the principal contriver of all, who with her clothes tucked up, and a staff in her hand, marches from place to place like an Amazon commanding an army."¶

On the 10th July, 1631,** Sir Francis Cottington was created Baron Cottington of Hanworth,—a title which expired with him in the year 1653.

* Parish Register of Hanworth, as printed by Lysons, Middlesex Parishes, 1800, p. 101.

† "Charles son of sir Francis Cottington, knight and baronet, and of the Lady Anne," was baptised at Hanworth July 21, 1628; "the witnesses being our Sovereign Lord the King, the High and Mighty Prince George Duke of Buckingham, and the Lady Marchioness Hamilton," (Lysons, p. 101:) but it is not probable that the King was personally present at the christening.

‡ This "second Titian" can have been none other than Sir Peter Paul Rubens, the painter of the ceilings at Whitehall.

§ Probably he included *all* his countrymen under the term of Northern barbarians, and was anxious to show them the horticulture he had learned at Madrid.

‖ "Last week (Feb. 16, 1622-3) Sir Francis Cottington, newly married to Sir Robert Brett's young widow, of good estate, daughter to one Meredith sometime paymaster of the troops in the Low Countries, was knighted and made a baronet." (Nichols's Progresses, &c. of James I. iv. 805.) She died in March 1633-4: see the Strafford Papers, i. 214.

¶ Strafford Papers, i. 51. The whole passage is extracted by Lysons.

** Not in 1629, as Lysons states.

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In August, 1635, he here entertained queen Henrietta Maria and her whole court.*

On the 13th Feb. 1637-8 he received a grant† of free warren and licence to inclose 100 acres within his park: and this brings us to the matters set forth in the ensuing document.

It is the draft of an Answer in Equity, prepared by the counsel of the tenants of the manor, to a Bill of Complaint made by Sir Thomas Chamber, who purchased the manor of Hanworth in 1670 of the cousin and heir-at-law of Lord Cottington.

The Complainant had alleged that the tenants of the manor had made an agreement with Lord Cottington in the year 1631 for the inclosure of forty acres of common adjoining Hanworth park.

The Defendants reply that in that year Lord Cottington had endeavoured to prevail on the tenants to consent to his inclosing the land in question, proposing to lower their fines, abate their rents, from 4*d.* to 1*d.* per acre, to alter their customs to their great advantage, and that they should have a Custom-book, which he would confirm by covenant. Moreover, that he would give 10*l.* per annum for ever to the poor of the parish. These promises he had not fulfilled; and, although he had given some plate to the church, as stated in the bill, with his name and an inscription thereon, he had given the same of his noble mind and free will. It appears, however, that Lord Cottington had gone so far as to inclose the said piece of waste with a fence, and had planted quick and young trees; but, on the breaking out of the Civil wars, he went to Oxford, and afterwards continuing with the King, away from home, the poor women of the parish and the sons of the tenants had broken down the fence and cut down the trees and restored the land to common. Such are the leading points of the following document, the details of which will be found to reward the trouble of perusal.

The result of the litigation has not been made known; but at a subsequent period, in 1745, Lord Vere Beauclerk, (who married the granddaughter and heir of Sir Thomas Chamber, and was created Lord Vere of Hanworth in 1750,) gave 6*l.* per ann. to the poor in lieu of some portion of the waste inclosed by him; which was possibly the realization of the plan which had been attempted by his predecessor in the estate a century before.

This interesting document has been communicated to the Society by George Richard Corner, esq. F.S.A. from the valuable MS. collections of Robert Cole, esq. F.S.A.

J. G. N.

* "My Lord Cottington, about a fortnight since, entertained the Queen and all her court at dinner at Hanworth, where she was well pleased." Mr. Gerrard to the Earl of Strafford, Sept. 1, 1635. (Strafford Papers, i. 463.)

† Pat. 13 Car. I. pars 24, no. 2.

The joynt

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The joynt and severall Answere of Thomas Coombes, William Cotterell, William Fitzwater, Roger Bennett, Richard Well-beloved, John Browne, Henry Blake, (Mary Williams, *erased*,) Robert Harrison, Thomas Fitzwater, Richard Cooke, Ralph Warren, (James Flaxim, *deceased*,) Thomas Nicholls, John Nicholls, (William Ubly, *erased*,) John Wells, Jo: Wilde, William Goddard, (William Swift, ... Williams, ... Bitham, William Purdum, *erased*,) Robert Fitzwater, (Simon Boseley, Joane Harrison, *erased*,) Nathaniel Torrent, (Philipp Absolom, ... West, Mathew Fitzwater, George Fitzwater, *erased*,) Thomas Hart, Anne Chary, and Jo: Fitzwater, defendants to the bill of complaint of Sir Thomas Chamber, Knight, complainant.

These defendants, now and att all tymes hereafter saving to themselves all and all manner of advantages of excepcon to the manifold uncerteynties and insufficiencies of the complainant's said bill of complaint, for answere thereunto or so much thereof as any ways concernes these defendants or any of them to answere unto, they say and every of them sayth, that they beleeve it to be true that the said Francis late Lord Cottington in the bill named was in his life-tyme seised of an estate of inheritance in fee simple of and in the mannor and parke of Hanworth in the bill menconed, and that there then was and still is a certeyne quantity of comon or wast ground lying open and uninclosed called Hanworth Comon, contayning 300 acres or thereabouts, (and no more, *erased*,) the soyle whereof did or might belong to the said Lord Cottington: And within the said mannor also there then were and still are divers freehould tenements and divers other customary or copihould tenements of inheritance who then had or claymed and still have or clayme to have right of comon, of pasture and of turbary within the said wast ground, as in the said bill of complaint is sett forth. And these defendants severally further say that they or any of them do not know or beleeve that in or about the yeare 1631 in the bill menconed or at any tyme before or since to their knowledge there hapned any suits or differences between the said Lord Cottington and the said then freehould and copihould tenants, or that the said tenants

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had then comitted any wasts and spoyls eyther upon their tenements within the said mannor or houlden thereof or in the said wast ground, or that they were in arreare of any fines due to the said Lord Cottington whereby to forfeit their said copihould tenements, or any wayes to indanger the same, as in the said bill is suggested, nor doe knowe or beleive there was any judgement or decree like to be had against them or any of them touching the same; but these defendants, Roger Bennett, William Fitzwater, and Richard Wellbeloved, the onely surviving persons in the bill named that were tenants of the said mannor att the time of the pretended agreement in the bill menconed, doe very well know and the said other defendants doe verily beleeve that in or about the said yeare 1631, in the bill menconed, the said Lord Cottington, being then in great power, (and being then Lord Keeper of the Greate Seale of England, *erased*,) and haveing a very great desire to inclose the said 40 acres of wast ground in the bill menconed, it being the best ground in the said comon, and lying in a square peece just under the parke pale of him the said Lord Cottington, and so very comodious and convenient to the same, he the said Lord Cottington (pretending his court rolls were lost) did cause 3 or 4 of the then copihould tenants to be subpena'd (into the High Court of Chancery, *erased*) unto some one of His Majesty's Courts at Westminster upon a bill of discovery, as was pretended, to discover and show their titles to theire copihould lands and their copies by which they held the same, and some of the tenants shewing their copies, and the said Lord Cottington finding their titles good, he never proceeded any further then the said subpena, nor did any of the tenants answere to any bill, nor was there any other suit whatsoever comenced against them by the said Lord Cottington or any judgement or decree likely to be obtayned against them or any of them to theire or either of theire knowledg or beleif, but the said Lord Cottington, when he saw he had no advantage against the then tenants of the said mannor for the insufficiency of their title or for any wast, spoyles, arreares of fines, forfeitures, or otherwise, he then began to use a milder course, and did often in friendly manner desire and intreate the said tenants that they would not stand with him for a little peece of comon so convenient for him, and

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tould them what great matters he would do for them if they would comply with him in granting his request, and if they the said tenants would all give their consentt for the inclosing of the said 40 acres in the bill menconed he would bring downe the fines of the said copihoulders and abate their rents and bring them downe from 4^{d} an acre to one penny an acre, and would alter their customes to their great advantage, and they should have a custome booke, and he would confirme the same unto them by covenant or otherwise as counsell should advise, and would also give to the poore of the parish of Hanworth the sume of 10^{li} a yeare for ever, and divers other things he proposed, but performed nothing thereof; and yett the said tenants, nor any of them, to the knowledge of these defendants, or either of them, would in nowise consent to part with so large a share of their comon, being about 60 acres of the best ground and lying so convenient for them just up to their doores, yet (at last *erased*) he the said Lord Cottington did so farr urge the matter that at last he did prevayle with 4 or 5 tenants at the most, and those were all servants to the said Lord Cottington, who did goe with him (and *erased*) or his servants unto the said peece of ground (which he desired to inclose) to bound and sett out the same, and when they came there the said Lord Cottington would have sett out more ground than those tenants would consent unto, as these defendants have heard and doe beleeve, and so, falling out about bounding the ground and the quantity that he desired to inclose, they disagreed and parted and never came to any conclusion of agreement whatsoever to theire knowledge or beleife, nor would ever harken to any further persuasions, nor would they quitt their right to the said comon or any part thereof, nor suffer the said Lord Cottington to inclose the same otherwise then as aforesaid, to exclude them the said tenants from comoning therein upon any pretence whatsoever, as in and by the said bill is falsely and untruely suggested; all which these defendants are ready to averr and prove as this honorable Court shall award: And these defendants, Roger Bennett, William Fitzwater, and Richard Wellbeloved, further say that it is true and all the other defendants doe beleeve it to be true that the said Lord Cottington at his owne charges did dyke, pale, and fence in the said peece of comon or wast ground

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which he so earnestly desired the consent of the then tenants to inclose and did sett the same with quick and planted divers young trees (but not 3,000 nor half the number) as these defendants doe beleeve; and afterwards, the warrs breaking out, they doe beleeve that the said Lord Cottington left his house and attended his late Majesty att Oxford, where they doe conceive he did continue in his Majesty's service all the tyme of the warrs, as in the said bill is sett forth: And they the said Roger Bennett, William Fitzwater, and Richard Wellbeloved doe further say and doe affirme it to be true, and all the said other defendants doe verily beleeve it to be true, that in the absence of the said Lord Cottington (he haveing inclosed the said peece of comon or wast ground against the then tenants' wills and without their consent to their exceeding great damage,) the sonnes of severall of the then tenants and divers other young men and boyes in Hanworth aforesaid, and other townes and places there nere adjoyning, did enter upon the said inclosed comon or wast ground so fenced in as aforesaid, and did throw open the said fences, pulled downe the said pales, and pulled upp the said quicks, and the poore women did cutt downe the said trees planted thereon, or some part thereof; and the said tenants have ever since houlden and enjoyed the same in comon as before the inclosing thereof, as in all right, equity, and conscience they ought to doe, for that the said Lord Cottington (as the said Roger Bennett, William Fitzwater, and Richard Wellbeloved doe well know to be true and all the said other defendants doe veryly believe to be true,) did inclose and fence in the said peece of comon or wast ground, containing about 60 acres, against the will (and consent, *erased*) and mynde of the said then tenants, and every of them, as they veryly believe, and without their consents, merely upon his owne will and mynde, he being then in great power, without any consideracon of discontinuing suits, (for that he did voluntarily discontinue and cease the same,) having no just cause to proceed thereupon, and without any consideracon of discharging of wasts, spoyles, forfeitures, arreares of fines or otherwyse, and not upon the account of the plate in the bill menconed, or any other agreement or consideracon whatsoever, to theire knowledge or beleife: And say that the plate menconed in the said bill, which

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the complainant pretended was bestowed upon the said parish of Hanworth, upon the account of the said agreement, and in consideracon thereof, the same plate was not given upon any such agreement or consideracon, to the knowledge of theise defendants, or either of them, as in the said bill is falsely surmised, but the said Lord Cottington of his noble mynde and free will did voluntarily give and bestow the same upon the said parish, to remayne as church plate, with his name and an inscripcon thereupon, as his free guift and not otherwise, as they doubt not but to prove: And these defendants further say, and doe beleeve it to be true, that the said Lord Cottington dyed about the yeare 1646,* in the bill menconed: And that after his decease the said manno came to Francis Cottington, his nephew, and after his decease to Charles Cottington, his nephew, who sould the same (as these defendants doe beleeve), to the complainant Sir Thomas Chamber, but these defendants doe not beleeve that he sould the said peece of comon or wast ground so inclosed and taken into the said parke, as aforesaid, for that he had no right nor title to the same; or if he did sell the same, yet the complainant ought not in conscience to have and enjoy the said comon so inclosed in severalty, as lord of the said mannor in the place and stead of the said Lord Cottington, the same being inclosed without any agreement made between him and the said then tenants, and without any consideracon for the same, as is before declared and sett forth: And although the complainant hath requested these defendants, or some of them, to consent and to permitt him to take in and inclose within the said parke the said 40 acres of comon or wast ground, and to enjoy the same quietly against their demands of comon therein, yet they have refused and still doe refuse to doe the same, as by the favour of this honourable court they humbly conceive it is lawful for them so to do, for that the complainant hath no right to the same, and having a very great estate of his owne hath no need to deprive the said defendants of their right of comonage, or any part thereof, the most of the said tenants being very poore men, and the said comon being the greatest support and mayntenance not only of the said tenants, but also of divers poore people of the said towne, who make it their greatest sub-

* He really died in 1653.

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sistance, and to be deprived thereof will tend to their exceeding great prejudice, damage, and impoverishment: And therefore they doe hope that they shall not be compelled by this honourable Court to part with any of their rights and privileges of comonage, but may quietly hould and enjoy the same as formerly they have done without interupcon, notwithstanding the said pretended agreement made by the said Lord Cottington and the said tenants, there being in truth no such agreement absolutely concluded upon, but only a communicacon and discourse between them tending to that purpose as aforesaid, as these defendants (are ready to averr, and *erased*) doubt not but to prove as this honourable Court shall award (not only by writing under the hand of the said Lord Cottington himself, but also by the othes of divers honest, able, and credible persons that are no wayes concerned touching the said comon, who are still living and are ready to attest and prove the same, *erased*): And these defendants and every of them doe deny all and all manner of confederacy and combinacon whatsoever to or with the said other defendants in the bill named, or to or with any person or persons whatsoever, for any matter, cause, or thing any wayes relating to the said Lord Cottington and the complainant or eyther of them, or tending to the prejudice of them or eyther of them. Without this that any other matter or thing in the complainant's said bill of complaint contayned materiall or effectuall for these defendants to answere unto and not herein and hereby sufficiently answered (unto, *erased*,) confessed or avoyded, traversed or denyed, are true in such manner and forme as in the said bill of complaint is sett forth. All which matters and things these defendants are ready to averr, justify, mayntayne, and prove, as this honourable Court shall award. And humbly pray to be hence dismissed with their reasonable costs and charges in this behalf unjustly sustayned.

(*Signed*) WILL. KILLINGWORTH.

Indorsed, Tenants of Hanworth adversus Lord of the Manno^{r} } Answere.

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STONE COFFIN AND ROMAN POTTERY FOUND AT BOW.

BY B. H. COWPER, ESQ.

East India Road, March 1, 1856.

DEAR SIR,

I am happy to be able to report upon the first mission which it has been my pleasure to fulfil on behalf of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society. Immediately upon the receipt of your communication I proceeded to the Iron Church and House Works at Bow, belonging to Mr. Hemmings. These works lie to the north of the Bow Road, not far from the Bow Station of the North London Railway, occupying the north-western angle of the intersection of that line with the Eastern Counties Railway. The ground is therefore less than a quarter of a mile to the south of the old Roman Road, which appears to have run along the Bethnal Green Road and Green Street, on to Old Ford, where it crosses the River Lea and enters Essex, not far from Stratford, which, as you know, derives its name from this very road or *street*. From Green Street to Old Ford the ancient way is still used as a driftway.

On reaching the spot above described I was politely furnished by Mr. Hemmings with the particulars of the discovery. The antiquities brought to light consisted of one stone coffin with skeleton entire, of one sepulchral vase or urn, of one small vase, and of a patera. Of each of these objects I am enabled to subjoin the following imperfect account.

1. The *Coffin*, the top of which was less than four feet from the surface of the soil, was formed of one large stone, which was hollowed out to receive the body, and resembled an oblong stone trough or sarcophagus, with a cavity of the same shape as the exterior. It consists of a block of oolite or freestone, somewhat coarser in texture, and darker in colour, than the well known Bath-stone, and resembles what is commonly derived from the Cotswold range of hills. The proportions by admeasurement were found to be as follows:

	ft.	in.		ft.	in.
Extreme length outside . .	6	7			
„ „ inside . . .	5	11			
„ width outside . . .	2	2			
„ „ inside . . .	1	6			
„ depth outside . . .	2	2			
„ „ inside . . .	1	6	to	1	8

The varying depth inside is owing to the irregular surface of the bottom of the cavity.

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The lid was originally of one piece of similar stone, and was

in width	2 ft. 2 in.
in length	6 ft. 7 in.

The under surface of the lid was flat, the upper surface very slightly convex.

The stone bore no inscription or ornament of any kind. The workmanship is plain, and even rude. When discovered and *in situ*, it was apparently entire, but was broken into many pieces by the workmen on its removal, a circumstance which we cannot regard without deep regret. This sarcophagus, as I may term it, contained the perfect skeleton of a full-grown human being; the bones were nearly of the colour of the clay about London, and were moist and clammy to the touch. Nothing remained of the body or of its integuments but a whitish substance resembling old lime mortar, which was deposited inside upon the bottom of the coffin.

There is one singular appearance to which I wish to direct especial attention, as it is a fact of which I remember no mention. Under the lid and elsewhere the coffin had closely attached to it long fibres, resembling those of large decayed leaves, and the fine tissue spread out on either side of them. Some of these I myself detached from the stone to which they were cleaving, but in the last stage of decay. I am informed that the skull was well nigh veiled with a similar substance, which but for the fibres might have been mistaken for cobweb.

When the discovery was made a policeman was sent for, who, when consulted, gave it as his opinion that the bones should be interred in a gravel-pit hard by, and his advice was followed; the skeleton was huddled into a basket or hamper, and deposited as he directed!

The coffin-lid is in but two pieces. The coffin itself could be almost entirely reconstructed out of the fragments, which have been now collected and laid aside, and were partly put together to gratify my curiosity, and to assist me in taking the dimensions.

2. A sepulchral *Vase* of coarse grey pottery, which contained, I am informed, what appeared to be the bones of an infant; of this but one "potsherd" remains, a part of the bottom, the rest was wholly destroyed.

3. An Urn, or rather *Ampulla*, of a fine red material and elegant shape. From the remains of it, it appears to have held about one pint, is nearly globular in form, and had an exceedingly narrow neck. On one side there was a handle. This was a very pretty article, and a good part of it remains in fragments.

4. A *Patera*, or saucer, which I found in the possession of one of the workmen, and obtained from him. This, too, is of red earth, but coarser than No. 3. It is in fragments, and of these some are lost, but enough remains to show what it was, and I shall be happy to submit them to inspection when I have attempted to put them together.

This earthenware is undoubtedly Roman, and was found in close prox-

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imity to the coffin, with which it must have been buried. The position of the coffin, due east and west, and of the arms of the skeleton which were crossed upon the breast, would suggest that the interment was made during the Christian period of Roman domination in Britain. The material of the coffin, which must have been obtained from a considerable distance, proves that it belonged to one of the wealthier inhabitants of probably old Londinum, it being well known that the Roman interments were extramural, and that the citizens deposited their dead along and near the highways leading from their cities.

One of the workmen informed me, that a few months ago several discoveries were made somewhat further north, in digging for the foundation of some houses, and that he was told the place appeared to have been a burying-ground. This spot is still nearer to the Roman way. In this locality there will probably be a large amount of building within a few years, and there may be other discoveries, to which attention should be given.

The excavation in which the remains above described were found was made for the purpose of laying a deep foundation, and has since been quite filled up.

Faithfully yours,

B. H. COWPER.

G. B. Webb, Esq. Secretary.

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ROMAN REMAINS NEAR NEWGATE.

In preparing for the new buildings erected, in the summer of 1857, on the north side of the gaol of Newgate, in the Old Bailey, and very near to the site of the city gate which gave its name to the prison, on the ground being excavated to a considerable depth, the foundation of the City Wall was cut through, and many vestiges of old London were discovered. Among these, Mr. G. R. Corner, F.S.A., obtained a fragment of a mortarium, with the potter's mark very clearly and distinctly impressed on the rim, but the words singularly disposed within a twisted border, thus:

It is remarkable that a similar fragment, bearing the same mark,* was also found in Newgate Street, on the 23rd Oct. 1835, and is now preserved in Mr. Charles Roach Smith's Museum of London Antiquities at the British Museum.

During the recent excavations, abundance of Roman bond-tiles and building materials appeared in and about the City Wall; and Mr. Corner observed under a stratum of pounded brick, which was the foundation of a coarse pavement, a layer of burnt wood, the evident remains of a fire during or previous to the Roman period. Many feet higher was a similar layer of wood-ashes, produced by the Fire of 1666, or some similar occurrence in latter times.

It is much to be desired that advantage should be taken of every opportunity of discovering Roman remains in this part of London, in which, according to a strong opinion expressed by Mr. C. Roach Smith, the great Theatre of Londinium was situate, on the ground lying between the Old Bailey, Fleet Lane, Seacoal Lane, and Snow Hill, a spot raised in a remarkable manner above the level of the banks of the Fleet, and which is now approached from Seacoal Lane by several steep flights of steps.

* See the Catalogue of that Museum, page 16. Another mark, MARTINVS F. mentioned in the same page, is not now to be found, and perhaps did not occur on a mortarium.

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Proceedings at the Meetings of the Society.

FOURTH GENERAL (FIRST ANNUAL) MEETING,

Held in the Architectural Museum, Canon Row, Westminster, on Thursday, July 27th, 1856.

MORNING MEETING.

The Right Hon. the LORD ROBERT GROSVENOR, M.P., in the Chair.

Mr. G. Bish Webb (the Honorary Secretary) read the Report as follows:—

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

In accordance with the rules, the Council have the pleasure of presenting their First Annual Report upon the progress and present state of the Society. Although six months only have elapsed since the date of its inauguration, three general meetings, exclusive of the present one, have been held—namely, two in the city of London, and one in Westminster. At these meetings, ten papers on subjects connected with the objects of the Society have been read, and many interesting antiquities and works of art have been exhibited. The attendance on these occasions has been numerous, thus evincing in the most satisfactory manner that the advantages offered by the Society are duly appreciated. The number of Members enrolled is now 250, of which number fifteen are Life Members: and, when it is remembered that one year has not yet elapsed since the Society was even projected, this result must be regarded as extremely encouraging. Still, the Council hope that, as our objects and plan of operation become better known, a large increase will take place; for the success of a Society having so small a subscription must depend greatly on its obtaining a numerous body of Members. The Council, considering it to be of importance to the interests of the Society that the publication of its Transactions should be commenced with as little delay as possible, have made arrangements for the immediate issue of the first part. The limited funds at their disposal for this purpose prevents much being effected; but they trust that even this small instalment of their literary store will prove acceptable to the Members at large. The Council have the satisfaction of stating that friendly relations have been established with the Ecclesiological Society, the Suffolk Institute of Archæology, and the Surrey Archæological Society.

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The Noble Chairman, in moving the adoption of the Report, congratulated the meeting on the successful progress of the Society, and on the judicious economy that had characterised its management. Although, if he might so speak, the Society had only attained to the cutting of its first teeth on that occasion—it gave evidence of having been well nursed and nourished. Many Members had been elected, and further subscriptions were promised; and there was no doubt that the Institution would become worthy of the consideration and support of the lovers of archæology in this great metropolis. The attendance on the occasion of their meetings had been numerous —a pretty tolerable evidence that there was a want of a Society of this description, and of the interest that was taken in archæology in London. No doubt, as the Society became more largely known, a much larger amount of patronage would be extended to it in promotion of its objects. There was one announcement in the Report which shewed that there was vitality and value in the Society's proceedings, seeing that the Council were of opinion that it was of great importance that their Transactions should be published. This would put the Society to the *experimentum crucis*, for mainly on these Transactions would depend the public interest that would attach to them, and whether in its future career the Society would stand or fall. He was glad to find that the Council were taking steps to bring the Association prominently before the public, and that, following out a Royal precedent, they announced at the end of their Report, that they had "established friendly relations" with one or two sister associations. He was an ardent advocate for peaceful and harmonious relations, and though a noble lord (Lord Lindsay) had written a work of considerable philosophical depth to prove that the whole world was impelled by and progressed upon principles of antagonism (and, doubtless, there was some philosophical truth in it), he (the noble Chairman) being a man of peace, was at all times an advocate for amicable relations, whether in archæology or the world at large. With best wishes for the success of the Institution, he would move the adoption of the Report.

Mr. Ashpitel, F.S.A. seconded the motion. They had a wide field and much matter of archæological interest to study and explore. With the exception of Westminster Abbey and St. Saviour's, there was scarcely anything of positive antiquity in London that had been explored; and with reference even to the Abbey itself not even a tenth part of that had been explored archæologically, and, doubtless, the investigations of the Society would shew that there was scarcely a street, or at any rate a district, in London and Middlesex that did not contain some matter of antiquarian or historical interest.

Thanks, on the motion of Mr. Sydney Smirke, seconded by Mr. Deputy Lott, were then given to the Auditors, Mr. H. Nethersole and Mr. R. B. Ridgway.

A vote of thanks to the Chairman was moved by the Rev. Thomas Hugo, seconded by Mr. Tayler, and carried by acclamation.

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The company then proceeded to the abbey, where GEORGE GILBERT SCOTT, Esq. addressed the members on the architectural peculiarities of the structure, and the Rev. CHARLES BOUTELL, M.A. described the most important and interesting of the monuments. Every part of the abbey, from the crypt to the triforium, was successively visited; and some of the party, including several fair archæologists, followed their conductors to the very roof of the edifice.

Mr. SCOTT commenced his remarks by instituting a comparison between French and English Architecture of the period to which the foundation of the existing abbey must be referred. The idea of Westminster was taken from French models, although in many important respects the structure differed from those of France. The cathedrals of Amiens and Rouen furnished many points of resemblance, especially in the apsidal chapels. The five chapels of Westminster Abbey were all arranged on the chord of the semicircle, which formed the apse. At Amiens Cathedral there were seven such chapels, but they were not commenced on a chord of a circle, but were formed one bay in advance. This was different from Westminster Abbey, where the line radiated backward and westward, having a blank bay in the aisle, by which means the chapels were made larger in proportion to the church than in other instances. The double advantage was thus obtained of gaining in size and making the chapels of more beautiful figure. It could be shown that Rouen Cathedral was intended to be built like Westminster Abbey, but for some reason the builder departed from the plan, and only made a little chapel, certainly inferior in beauty to that of the Westminster plan. The work done to Westminster Abbey in Henry the Third's time showed them how rigidly the original style was adhered to. In 1269 the body of the Confessor was carried to its shrine in the abbey, and the new part was consecrated. Part of the transept was finished by Henry III. After his death the work was continued by Edward I. Edward III. built the choir. Richard II. added to it, but it was finished by Henry VII. On examination it would be seen, that, from the first pillar to the end of the screen, the building took place in the reign of Richard II., but not in the ordinary architecture of the period. All the architects appeared desirous of assimilating their work to that of the 13th century. Respecting the shrine of Edward the Confessor, it appeared that Abbot Weir went to Rome, and brought over here two master workmen to execute the mosaic work in glass, the same as appears in the churches of St. Sophia at Constantinople, St. Mark's at Venice, and in the works round Rome. One of the workmen's name was Peter, a Roman citizen. He helped to execute the shrine. The substance of the shrine was Purbeck marble, inlaid with grey mosaic. The other workman was named Odorico, and he was employed to execute mosaic in porphyry for floors. This workman executed that part of the pavement round the shrine of the Confessor and the high altar; both portions are inlaid, but both were allowed to fall into a state of decay and dilapidation. The lecturer concluded his interesting statement by saying, that he should

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be ready to attend the members and visitors round the abbey, and point out the parts best worthy of their notice.

The Rev. CHARLES BOUTELL then proceeded to lecture on the monuments. The monuments, he said, formed a distinct feature of the abbey, differing from every other English ecclesiastical edifice. The abbey, in addition to its cathedral character, must be considered as being also a vast national monumental shrine. The monuments he would divide into two important classes—those which from their intrinsic character were suitable to such a place, and those which were introduced as works of art, but inconsistent with the character of the place, though not inconsistent as concerned the memory of illustrious individuals. He must guard himself, when speaking of monuments as inconsistent with the abbey, against being understood to detract from the memory of the persons commemorated. He only intended to speak of them as works of art, to make room for many of which the most beautiful details of architecture have been ruthlessly destroyed. As works of art, some of these monuments were worse than worthless, and room had been made for them by cutting away mouldings of the finest period of Gothic architecture. Many of the monuments combined interesting specimens of architecture, heraldry, wood-carving, and sculpture, together with all that was otherwise artistically admissible. He proceeded to notice the respective excellences of the tombs of Aymer de Valence, D'Aubigny, John of Eltham, Edward I., Henry III., and Queen Alianor, Queen Philippa, &c.

EVENING MEETING.

The Rev. THOMAS HUGO, M.A. F.S.A. in the Chair.

In the evening a large proportion of the company re-assembled in the Architectural Museum; when

Dr. BELL read a paper on Regal Heraldic Badges.

The CHAIRMAN followed with a lecture on the structures which had preceded the present abbey, intended as an introduction to Mr. Scott's valuable and elaborate description of the existing edifice, to which reference has already been made.

Mr. Webb, Hon. Secretary, then read a letter from Mr. B. H. COWPER, upon the recent discovery of a Stone Coffin and Roman Pottery at Bow. (Printed at p. 193.)

Thanks were voted in conclusion to the Noble President, Lord Londesborough, for a liberal donation of £20 to the funds of the Society; to the Rev. Lord John Thynne, Sub-Dean of Westminster, for the courteous permission to visit the abbey, which his Lordship had kindly granted, and to the authors of the papers and lectures. We should here mention that a special mark of favour was shown to the Society upon this occasion. The great western doors were thrown open for the admission of the company, a cir-

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cumstance which has not occurred since the last coronation. The arrangements made by the authorities were excellent; and in conclusion the High Constable of Westminster (Mr. Owen), who was charged with the reception of the numerous party, performed his task with the utmost courtesy and to the satisfaction of all present.

The company did not separate till a late hour.

FIFTH GENERAL MEETING,

Held at the Gallery of British Artists, (in the occupation of the Architectural Exhibition,) Suffolk Street, Pall Mall East, on Wednesday, Feb. 18, 1857,

The Very Rev. THE DEAN OF WESTMINSTER, Vice-President, in the Chair.

The Chairman, in opening the proceedings, said that he appreciated most highly the studies which had brought them together that evening. It was his lot to be entrusted with the charge of one of the most interesting and venerable historical monuments of the middle ages in existence. He had joined the Society in order that he might have its advice and aid in his endeavours to bring to light and preserve the various relics of by-gone times with which the abbey abounded, and which others, in their well-meaning ignorance, had done their worst to obliterate and destroy. In arriving at these results, he knew that he should secure able and experienced counsel and assistance, and that he should thereby be enabled not only to do what ought to be done, but to know what was necessary and the mode in which it should be effected—a knowledge which was of primary importance in reference to such edifices. He concluded by observing that archæology, as now studied, tends to connect the present with the past, to foster a national and patriotic feeling, and to enable us to appreciate all that our ancestors had done for us and bequeathed to us. It was in this spirit that archæology was studied by this Society, and with these feelings he had gladly joined it.

The Rev. Thomas Hugo, M.A., F.S.A., then read his paper, "Walks in the City. No. 1. Bishopsgate Ward," which will be found at page 149.

John Whichcord, Esq., F.S.A., in the absence of the author, Edward Griffith, Esq., read a paper on "Middlesex at the time of the Domesday Survey," for which see page 175.

The Rev. C. Boutell, M.A., followed with some general remarks on the "Brasses in Westminster Abbey," which he illustrated by a very fine collection of rubbings which adorned the walls of the meeting-room.

The following resolutions were then passed:—

Moved by the Chairman, and seconded by Captain Oakes, That the best thanks of the meeting be given to the authors of the papers.

By William Tayler, Esq. and Charles Baily, Esq., That the cordial

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thanks of this meeting be offered to Lord Londesborough, and to other members, for their liberal donations to the Society.

By the Chairman and the Rev. Thomas Hugo, That the thanks of the meeting be tendered to G. B. Webb, Esq., Hon. Sec., for his valuable services as Honorary Secretary.

By the Rev. C. Boutell and Edward Richardson, Esq., That the best thanks of this meeting be given to the committee and officers of the Architectural Exhibition for the grant of the gallery now in their occupation.

A vote of thanks to the Very Rev. Chairman, for his able and courteous conduct of the business of the meeting, was moved by W. J. Thoms, Esq., F.S.A., and carried by acclamation.

The meeting then separated; the Chairman expressing a hope that the Society would soon pay a second visit to Westminster Abbey.

Objects and Works of Art exhibited.

By Mr. B. H. Cowper. Roman pottery from Bow.

By Mr. Clutterbuck. A curious relic, which was purchased by him May 4, 1853, at a sale at St. Alban's, and which was asserted to have been taken from the ruins after the fire in the Tower of London. It is pronounced by the Rev. Dr. Rock to be "a Penitential Chain." An engraving of it will be found at the conclusion of the Proceedings, p. 210.

SIXTH GENERAL MEETING,

Held at the Tower of London, on Tuesday, July 21st, 1857.

The Right Hon. the LORD DE ROS, President for the day.

The noble Lord alluded, in the first instance, to the disastrous fire which occurred fifteen years previously, and stated that, in all the changes which had taken place since that date, it had been the most anxious desire of the authorities to preserve inviolate the original features of the edifices committed to their care,—an announcement which was most cordially received by the assembled Society.

The Rev. Thomas Hugo then read a paper on the "History and Topography of the Tower," as an introduction to the examination of the various buildings.

Mr. Hugo divided his subject into two parts: a history of the fortress itself, and a survey of the ancient portions which yet remain. The former division commenced with an account of the erection of the White Tower, by Gundulf, Bishop of Rochester, under William the Conqueror, and included chronological notices of the various additions by subsequent

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monarchs, together with a list of the more celebrated prisoners who have from time to time been immured within the walls. The latter placed before the company the actual disposition of the various towers, walls, bridges, moats, &c., and enabled it to understand the original arrrangement of the fortress, as well as the relative bearings of all the ancient portions which are still extant; a result which the vast masses of modern erections, for ordnance and other purposes, have on all sides availed to prevent. The great Keep, or White Tower, and the towers of the outer and inner ward, were then described in greater detail. The former consists, for the most part, of some lower apartments, now converted into armouries, and above these of the noble Council-chamber, and the interesting Chapel of St. John. The Council-chamber possesses a wooden roof, sustained by vast piers of the same material, but without mouldings or other ornament. The Chapel has a nave and aisles, separated from each other by an arcade of semicircular arches, without mouldings, which are supported by twelve columns and two half-columns. The form of the eastern extremity is apsidal; and it would appear that the otherwise rectangular outline of the building was purposely interfered with in order to give the Chapel this favourite peculiarity. Over the lower is an upper arcade, divided by a plainly chamfered string-course, which arcade opens into a gallery that occupies the space above the aisles. Among the smaller towers of the fortress, which the paper proceeded to notice, Mr. Hugo drew particular attention to the Bell Tower, the remains existing in which have never been figured, and appear to be unknown. Of this tower he promised a memoir, with accurate drawings, at the next Evening Meeting of the Society. He concluded with a cordial expression of thanks to the authorities, for the manner in which they had responded to the solicitations which the Council had commissioned him to offer in the Society's behalf.

The company, consisting of between seven and eight hundred, was then divided into ten parties, each of which, attended by a warder, proceeded by a different route to inspect the various points of interest. Each party was received, on arrival at the locality in question, by a member of the Council, stationed there for the purpose of furnishing the members with explanations of the several objects.

The duty, which was considerable, was divided as follows:—

White Tower.—In the Horse Armoury, was Mr. F. W. Fairholt.
„ In the Chapel of St. John, Mr. Alfred White.
„ In the Council-chamber, the Rev. Thomas Hugo.
In the Beauchamp Tower, Mr. Charles Baily.
In the Wakefield Tower, Mr. Deputy Lott.
In the Jewel Tower, Professor Tennant and Mr. Garrard.
At Traitor's Gate, the Rev. Henry Christmas.
In the Chapel of St. Peter ad Vincula, the Rev. Charles Boutell.

Each of these gentlemen had to tell his story ten times over before his labours were brought to a close!

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A single visit was utterly insufficient for the multiplicity of interesting objects which had to be attended to and studied, and many of the members were unequal to the prolonged exertion. It was, nevertheless, a day of great enjoyment, and one which will be long remembered as full to overflowing of archæological interest.

The proceedings terminated with votes of the most cordial thanks to Lord Viscount Combermere, Lord de Ros, Lord Panmure, Colonel Whimper, Colonel Windham, Mr. Hardy, and Mr. Eaton, in acknowledgment of the courtesy with which they allowed the members of the Society and their friends access to the various departments of the Tower; and to the members of Council, together with Mr. Rammage and the warders, for carrying into effect the several arrangements.

SEVENTH GENERAL (SECOND ANNUAL) MEETING,

Held in the House of the Society of Arts, Adelphi, on Thursday, July 23rd, 1857,

Mr. Deputy LOTT, F.S.A. in the Chair.

The proceedings of this Meeting were exclusively formal, and included the election of officers, and the adoption of the following

REPORT:

In this, their Second Annual Report, the Council of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society have to state that General Meetings of the Members and Friends of the Society have been held, during the past year, on July 24th, at Westminster Abbey; on February the 18th, in the evening, at the Gallery of the Architectural Exhibition in Suffolk Street; and on July 21st, at the Tower of London. These Meetings were all very numerously attended, and the proceedings on each occasion were evidently regarded with the utmost interest.

Reports of these gatherings, with the papers read at the Evening Meeting of February 18, will be printed in forthcoming Parts of the Transactions of the Society.

The first Part of the Transactions of the Society was published in October last, and copies have been supplied to the Members. There now remain on hand 276 copies.

Mr. G. B. Webb, the original Honorary Secretary, having intimated his wish to resign his office, and his resignation having been accepted with regret by the Council, the Rev. Charles Boutell, M.A. was appointed Honorary Secretary in his place, it having been decided that the financial condition of the Society would not at present authorise the appointment of a paid officer.

The Council have much pleasure in stating that the Society now numbers

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453 Members, of which number 125 have been elected since the last Annual Meeting.

Amongst the Members recently elected the Council have the gratification of naming the Lord Bishop of London, the Dean of Westminster, Lord Talbot de Malahide, and many other distinguished persons.

The Council have further to state that the Society's Rooms are now at 32, Fleet Street.

The Council have, in accordance with Rule 21, appointed several Gentlemen as Local Honorary Secretaries,—a step which they hope and believe will prove highly advantageous to the best interests of the Society.

In consequence of there having been no Auditors appointed at the last Annual Meeting, the Council are not able to present to the Society an audited financial statement. The financial statement, which will be submitted to the Meeting, will be placed in the hands of the Auditors when they shall have been appointed by the Society. The Auditors will be requested to audit the accounts of the Society as well for the year ending July 23, 1857, as for the year which will end in July, 1858, and their statement will then be printed and circulated amongst the Members.

In conclusion, the Council would impress upon the Members the importance of using every effort to extend the influence and to increase the efficiency of the Society.

It was then resolved unanimously—

1. That the Patrons, President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, and Trustees of the Society be re-elected to their respective offices; that Mr. Sydney Smirke, A.R.A. and Mr. George Gilbert Scott, A.R.A. be elected Vice-Presidents; and that the Rev. C. Boutell, M.A. be Honorary Secretary, in the place of G. B. Webb, Esq. resigned.

2. That the following Gentlemen be Members of Council for the ensuing year:—

Mr. A. Ashpitel.	Mr. R. Hesketh.
Mr. Charles Baily.	Rev. Thomas Hugo.
Mr. J. W. Butterworth.	Mr. Deputy Lott.
Rev. Henry Christmas.	Mr. H. Mogford.
Mr. W. D. Cooper.	Mr. John Gough Nichols.
Mr. James Crosby.	Mr. E. Richardson.
Mr. F. W. Fairholt.	Mr. C. Roach Smith.
Mr. E. Griffith.	Mr. William Tayler.
Mr. S. Carter Hall.	Mr. J. Whichcord.
Mr. T. Duffus Hardy.	Mr. A. White.

3. That Mr. H. Nethersole and Mr. R. B. H. Ridgway be re-elected Auditors for the ensuing twelvemonth, and that they be requested to audit the accounts of the past year.

4. That the Society do present its cordial thanks to the Council of the Society of Arts for obliging it with the use of their rooms on this occasion.

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EIGHTH GENERAL MEETING,

Held at Hampton Court Palace on Monday, October 5th, 1857.

The Rev. THOMAS HUGO, M.A., F.S.A. President for the day.

The Society is much indebted to a learned Corresponding Member for the annexed report of this very agreeable Meeting, a portion of which subsequently appeared in The Freemasons' Magazine:—

"On Monday, 5th of October, the members of the Society, accompanied by several hundred visitors, amongst whom were many ladies, visited Hampton Court Palace. They assembled in the Great Hall; and a lecture was delivered by the chairman of the day, the Rev. THOMAS HUGO, who afterwards conducted the party to every part of the palace where anything was to be seen worthy of notice.

"The Manor of Coombe (Hampton Court) is mentioned, it was shown, in Domesday Book, or 'Liber Judiciarius vel Censualis Angliæ,' and its first holder was Walther de Walaric; later, in King Edward the Confessor's time (A.D. 1042), it was held by Earl Algar, and was estimated for taxing at 40*l.* per annum—equal to 120*l.* of our present currency. In the year 1211, Joan, Lady Grey, relict of Sir Robert Grey, of Hampton, by her will left the entire manor and manor-house of Hampton to the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, whose Priory was situated in or about St. John's Square, Clerkenwell; and they appear to have enjoyed the revenues derivable therefrom until the 21st day of January, 1514, when Sir Knight Thomas Docwra, the Prior of the Order in England, leased the estate on behalf of himself and the Brethren Sir Knights, to Thomas Wolsey, Archbishop of York, Primate of England, who at that time had not been elevated to the rank of cardinal. In the British Museum, amongst the Cotton MSS., is the original lease, letting the manor and house to Wolsey for a term of ninety-nine years, at a rental of 50*l.* per annum, out of which Wolsey is allowed to deduct the sum of 4*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* for the exhibition or allowance to a priest to minister divine service within the chapel; and the prior is to furnish wood from the Hospitallers' estate, called St. John's Wood, near Marylebone, at Wolsey's expense of carriage, and to repair the weir in the Thames called Hampton Weir.

"Permission is granted to Wolsey to make any alterations he may think proper, but at the expiration of the lease the whole of the property is to return to the Order. But, if the rent be unpaid for two whole years, then the prior and knights have the power to claim the property again. And upon these terms Wolsey became possessor of Hampton Court, where he built a palace so grand and extensive that 3,000 persons were regaled therein with munificent hospitality.

"Of this superb mansion, on which all the talent of Europe was employed, little now remains except the outer and inner large courts, and some

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smaller kitchen and office courts abutting on a yard then and now called Tennis Court Lane. Attention was drawn to the extremely large and rare terra-cotta alto-relievo busts of the Roman emperors which are let into the brick-work of the gate-towers. They are the reputed work of Della Robbia; but, be that as it may, they are very fine specimens of clay-work, and, what is certain, were sent as a present to the Lord Cardinal by Pope Leo X. for the adornment of his house.

"The Great Hall, which has long been ascribed to Wolsey, was built by Henry VIII., about five or six years after the king had exchanged his palace at Sheen with the Cardinal for Hampton Court—Henry having pulled down the Hall previously built and commenced the one now existing. To assist him in his work he employed Freemasons; and the bill of expenses in the Public Record Office has rescued his Master's and Warden's names from being lost to posterity. The Master's name was John Molton, and his wages were 12*d.* a-day; the Warden's name was William Reynolds; he was paid 60*d.* the week; they also having fifty-six assistants, at 40*d.* the week each.

"From the Hall the Society of Archæologists entered the withdrawing-room, where is the fine oriel window of John Ellis, also a carved mantel-shelf of wood, stated to be Elizabethan, but asserted by the learned in these matters to be of the time of James II. In the centre of this mantel-piece is a portrait of the Lord Cardinal, which the Rev. Chairman pronounced to be a bad copy, and we venture to back his opinion, notwithstanding the assertion of the attendant custodian. In this room are some tapestries, which the lecturer stated were the positive property of the Lord Cardinal; and we were informed, that, in the inventory of the goods handed over by Wolsey to Henry, these identical arras are mentioned. The Hall is also hung with very fine tapestries, representing the life of Abraham.

"Passing from the Hall, the Society wended their way through the Picture Gallery, and the very fine Dutch looking-glasses came next under notice. They are formed of several sheets of glass, held together by a narrow border of engraved glass, fastened to the wooden back by pins or pegs, with large coloured-glass heads. These glasses were the property of King William III., who had them sent over from the Hague to furnish his rooms. We here take the liberty of calling the attention of the officers in power to the very bad state of repair in which these splendid engraved glasses are; as, if suffered to continue in their present state, they will not last long to form a memento of their shrewd and clever, though unpopular, possessor. The Society next came upon the Palace Chapel, where attention was called to the arms and supporters carved in stone, coloured and gilt, on each side of the Chapel entrance. That on the dexter side represents the arms of Henry VIII., supported by two angels, and his initials 'H. R.;' and on the sinister side the arms of Henry VIII., impaled with those of Jane Seymour, having the same supporters, and the initials "H. I." On entering the Chapel the appearance is excellent, with one exception, in which we entirely agree with Mr. God-

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win, that the whitened windows ought to be removed for fine stained glass, when the Chapel would be unique. There are two roofs, an outer and inner, and the inner roof is pinned and dove-tailed to the outer roof, and is thus supported without any interior aid. Within the last two or three years this inner roof was found to be unsafe, one of the pendants being supported by a single nail. This discovery led to an examination of the outer roof, which was found to be very defective, and a new outer roof has been built over the inner one, without in the least disturbing it; a work requiring the greatest care; and the architect deserves the highest praise for preserving this delicately-ornamented ceiling, only two of the pendants being out of the perpendicular. There is one feature in this ceiling different from any we have yet seen, namely, the broken arches. The pendants are ornamented with angels blowing trumpets, and boys with musical instruments in the centre of the squares; the king's and queen's arms, and the royal motto, running the length of the beams. The ground-work of the squares is blue, ornamented with gilt stars, the whole heightened with vermilion and gold, but exhibiting considerable taste when taken as a whole. It will have a better appearance when toned down a little by time. The pewing is by Wren, and the carving by Grinling Gibbons. The organ, which appeared to be of no great account, was under repair. Whilst this chapel was under examination, some few of the heads of the Society had been into the roofs, in order to explain the nature of the building to the members.

"On leaving the Chapel the Society visited Wolsey's Kitchen Court and the large buttery hatches, four in number. From this court a good view is obtained of the outside of the noble oriel window in the withdrawing-room attached to the Great Hall, the work, as we before said, of John Ellis, of Westminster.

"Having thus fully explored the remains of the palaces of Wolsey and Henry VIII., the Society came upon the Fountain Court, with its arched gallery, displaying the science and great skill of that clever architect, Sir Christopher Wren, of whom the Rev. Chairman appeared to be an enthusiastic admirer, and to whose care the palace of Hampton Court was entrusted by King William III. The Portrait Gallery is part of the Old Palace, but the front, of red brick and Portland stone, is Wren's. Here in the court are four vacant pedestals of stone, which formerly served for statues, the work of Fanelli, which have been ruthlessly torn from their original resting-places to decorate the gardens of Windsor Castle and elsewhere. The southern side of this court, in the circular recesses over the first-floor windows, is decorated with paintings to imitate stone, depicting the labours of Hercules, by Laguerre. The arched way under the gallery, running round the four sides of the court, forms a cloister; passing through which, and under the arched gateway, we arrive at the principal or east front of Wren's building.

"The Society then proceeded to the private garden, to view the south

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façade, which is highly ornamented with stone trophies and stone wreaths let into the brickwork. With the exception of these wreaths, there is only one other specimen of the same date in or near London—a house in Bishopsgate-street Within. In the Conservatory under this front is a myrtle-tree, formerly the property of Queen Mary, and brought to England by King William III., the stem of which is nearly as large as a child's body. Facing this conservatory are two very curious old leaden vases, to contain flowers, which one of the members stated were purchased by Queen Anne of the celebrated Johan Van Nost, who had a lead-foundry in Piccadilly, somewhere about the spot now called White Horse-street. We believe that there is only one specimen of his work remaining in London, the kneeling African supporting the sun-dial, in Clement's Inn. Of course being close to the grapery, the vine was visited, and a grand spectacle it presented, with its clustering bunches of grapes in ripe luxuriance.

"Leaving the private gardens, the Society visited the terrace, to see the nine remarkable, but too little noticed, specimens of ironwork, the designs of Wren, but the name of the artist unknown: they are in pairs, the centre being more elaborate than the rest. The first represents the star of the Order of the Garter; while others bear the reversed cipher of King William and Queen Mary, the rose, thistle, harp, and other national emblems.

"The Society having thus brought its labours to a close, the Rev. Chairman informed the Meeting that the Committee, while catering to the best of their ability for the improvement of the intellectual, had not forgotten the physical man, but had entered into an arrangement with the proprietor of the Prince of Wales Hotel to provide dinner by five o'clock—an announcement which was most cordially received The Members then mustered in front of the Fore Court of Wolsey's Palace, and thence proceeded to dinner, not without pausing on the centre of Moulsey Bridge to observe the very fine view of the palace which is obtainable from that spot.

"After dinner a vote of thanks was proposed by Mr. Tayler to the Rev. Mr. Hugo for the kind and able manner in which he, as Chairman, had directed the movements of the Society, and for his eloquent addresses upon the various parts of the building.

"The Rev. Gentleman, in acknowledging the compliment, said that the thanks of the Meeting were also due to the Members of the Committee, Mr. C. Baily, Mr. Tayler, and Mr. White, who had been indefatigable in their exertions; and he could not forbear from specially mentioning one Gentleman, Mr. H. W. Sass, whose artistic and archæological knowledge, together with his kindness in acting as Secretary to the Committee during the absence of the Secretary of the Society, had much contributed to their gratification on that day.

"The Company then broke up, and returned to London by a special train."

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NINTH GENERAL (SPECIAL) MEETING,

Held at the Freemasons' Tavern, Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, on Friday, Nov. 27, 1857.

COLONEL ALDERMAN WILSON, Vice-President, in the Chair.

The Council of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society are unwilling to give further publicity to the reasons which necessitated this Meeting, save so far as is due to themselves and to the Members of the Society at large.

Its object and results may be gathered from the terms of the Circular addressed to the Members, and from the Resolutions submitted to them when assembled, and carried unanimously.

The objects were,

1st. To declare the office of Honorary Secretary vacant, and to elect a person to the office;

2nd. To receive a financial statement of the affairs of the Society; and

3rd. To take such further steps in reference to the foregoing matters as to the Meeting shall seem proper.

The Council deeply regretted the painful position in which they were placed. They felt, however, that they had no alternative consistent with their duty; and that, however painful, the truth must be told, and the Society rescued, if possible, from destruction. They had tried every means to prevent an exposé, but their attempts had been entirely fruitless.

The Resolutions were as follow:

1st. That the Report of the Council be received, adopted, and entered on the Minutes.

2nd. That the Rev. Charles Boutell be dismissed from the office of Honorary Secretary to the Society.

3rd. That Mr. H. W. Sass be solicited to accept the office of Honorary Secretary, and is hereby appointed Honorary Secretary to the Society.

4th. That it be referred to the Council to take such proceedings as they may be advised to recover any moneys due to the Society by the Rev. C. Boutell [stated to amount, as then known, to £56 15*s*.]

5th. That the best thanks of the Meeting are due and are hereby tendered to Mr. Alderman Wilson for fulfilling the duties of Chairman on this occasion.

6th. That a copy of the Resolutions passed at this Special General Meeting of the Society be forwarded to the late Secretary, the Rev. C. Boutell; and that he be required to pay to the Treasurer the amount of any moneys due from him to the Society on or before the 10th day of December next.

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Penitential Chain, in the possession of Mr. Clutterbuck. See p. 201.

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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

LONDON AND MIDDLESEX

Archæological Society.

Vol. I. Part III.

A MEMOIR OF THE BELL TOWER IN THE TOWER OF LONDON.

BY THE REV. THOMAS HUGO, M.A. F.S.A. M.R.S.L. ETC.

[Read in the Suffolk Street Gallery, Feb. 10, 1858.]

The Bell Tower, 1858.

I HAVE no need to point out to metropolitan, or indeed to any other, readers, the interest which attaches to the subject of the following memoir, and the value of details which have for their object the illustration of an edifice so closely connected with our national history as the Tower of London. There can exist hardly an individual Englishman for whom the Tower has not a special and inalienable charm.

The group of buildings which comprise it consists of a central

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keep called the White Tower, originally the entire fortress, and of two wards surrounded by walls and towers. The central edifice comprises a basement and two higher stories, the lower now turned into armouries, the upper containing the grand Council Chamber and the exquisite Chapel of St. John. Apart from the central tower, (and independent also of the line of rampart and of the towers which string it,) there are several structures in the inner ward of considerable interest. There is the chapel of St. Peter ad Vincula, which, although sadly mutilated by successive restorations, is still noticeable as possessing the remains of some of the most unfortunate personages that figure in the history of this country. And there is also the building adjoining the south-west angle of the wall which surrounds the inner ward, called the Lieutenant's Lodgings, which, although of a considerably later date than the neighbouring fortifications, is interesting as having been the scene of several important events.

Both the outer and the inner wards are much encroached on, and their peculiarities rendered less conspicuous, by modern additions, in the shape of barracks, storehouses, and offices of various kinds. But with a little attention the main plan and disposition of the fortress is easily understood.

The towers of the inner ward, beginning from the south-west angle, are the Bell Tower, the Beauchamp Tower, the Develin or Devereux Tower, the Flint Tower, the Bowyer Tower, the Brick Tower, the Jewel Tower, the Constable Tower, the Broad Arrow Tower, the Salt Tower, the Lantern Tower, the Record Tower, and the Bloody Tower, beneath which is the magnificent entrance from the outer to the inner ward. Several of these are almost lost among later edifices, and have nothing left but their basements, now converted into offices and cellars. Of the Bell Tower I am presently about to furnish the reader with some particulars. The Beauchamp Tower is that so rich in memorials of noble prisoners who only left its gloomy chamber for the block on the Green or the neighbouring Hill. The Bowyer Tower has a fine basement still remaining, as have also the Brick Tower and the Lantern Tower. Of the Flint Tower there is nothing save the foundation. Of the Jewel, Constable, and

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Broad Arrow Towers considerable portions are yet visible. And the Devereux Tower, Salt Tower, Record Tower, and Bloody Tower are still entire.

The towers of the outer ward are the Martin Tower, the Byward Tower, and St. Thomas's Tower, beneath which is Traitor's Gate, which still exist in a perfect condition; and the Cradle Tower and Well Tower, the basements of which alone remain.

The fortress was originally built for the Conqueror by no less a person than the celebrated Gundulf, bishop of Rochester, sometime between the years 1080 and 1090. It is probable, however, that no portion besides the great White Tower was then erected. William Rufus added considerably to the buildings; and the tower called the Wakefield Tower, lately employed for the custody of the Records, is attributed to him. Little seems to have been done further until the time of John, who built, as it appears, several additional towers during the latter part of his reign. It was, however, in the reign of the third Henry that the most extensive alterations and additions were made. Many of the towers enumerated above are unquestionably due to him, especially those of the outer ward. Edward the Third also added some magnificent towers to the inner ward, subsequent to whose age very little remains which is not palpably and conspicuously modern.

After this hasty sketch of the fortress itself and its history, I have to solicit the reader's attention to the immediate subject of my present communication.

It has been considered by many that all the towers of the inner ward, with the solitary exception of the Wakefield Tower, were the work of Edward the Third. They have had their attention engrossed by three of the most conspicuous of them, the Beauchamp, Bowyer, and Salt Towers; the first and last of which, if not all three, are indubitably the work of the fourteenth century. There are, however, two towers of the inner ward which afford equally indubitable evidence of an earlier date—the Bell and the Devereux Towers. Both of them are structures of mark and excellence, especially the former; but, very unaccountably, little notice seems to have been hitherto taken of their singularly interesting peculiarities.

The Bell Tower occupies, it will be remembered, the south-west

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angle of the inner ward, and is still crowned by a little wooden turret. (*See the view.*) This formerly contained the alarm-bell of the garrison, lately transferred to the Chapel of St. Peter ad Vincula, but is now devoted to the more quiet and peaceful presence of the gallant and courteous Resident-Governor and his friends on calm evenings in summer, where the charms of lively converse are happily substituted for the clangour and alarm that formerly characterised the place.* The tower itself now forms a part of the Governor's house, and is used for various domestic purposes. It consists of a dark and gloomy basement, and of a chamber above, over which is the conical summit of the tower, surrounded by a modern parapet of brick, and having on its south-western side, and somewhat leaning over the abyss, the wooden erection already noticed. Externally, the tower is octagonal at the base, the portion forming the outside angle of the inner ward consisting of four whole and two half sides; the former unequal, but each about fourteen feet in width. It is thirty-five feet in diameter, sixty feet high, and has been covered with a coating of flints. At the height of about two-thirds from the base the octagonal form merges gradually into a round, which continues to the summit, the ancient work being capped, as I have said, by a modern parapet of brick. The walls of the chamber are eight feet thick, and of the basement considerably more. Three narrow openings, deeply splayed in the interior, admit air rather than light into the basement; as do two of a larger size into the chamber. In this latter the windows appear to have been originally four; but two have been long blocked up. Internally (and here I most heartily offer my grateful acknowledgments to Lieutenant-Colonel Whimper, the kind and courteous Fort-Major and Resident Governor, for his ever ready permission to examine at my will this interesting place, which, as already stated, forms part of his official residence,) the basement, the floor of which is of the same level as the inner, and therefore considerably above that

* The bell was also used, as it appears, to regulate the movements of the officials and prisoners. Among the "Articles" of the 18th of July, 1607, it is ordered that, "when the Tower bell dooth ring at nights for the shutting in of the gates, all the prisoners, wth their servants, are to w^th^drawe themselves into their chambers, and not to goe forth for that night."

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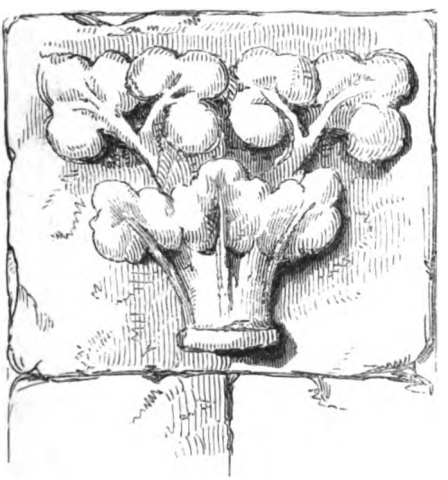

CAPITALS IN THE BELL-TOWER,

TOWER OF LONDON.

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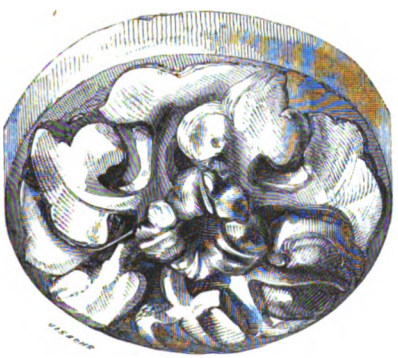

CAPITAL AND BOSS IN THE BELL-TOWER,

TOWER OF LONDON.

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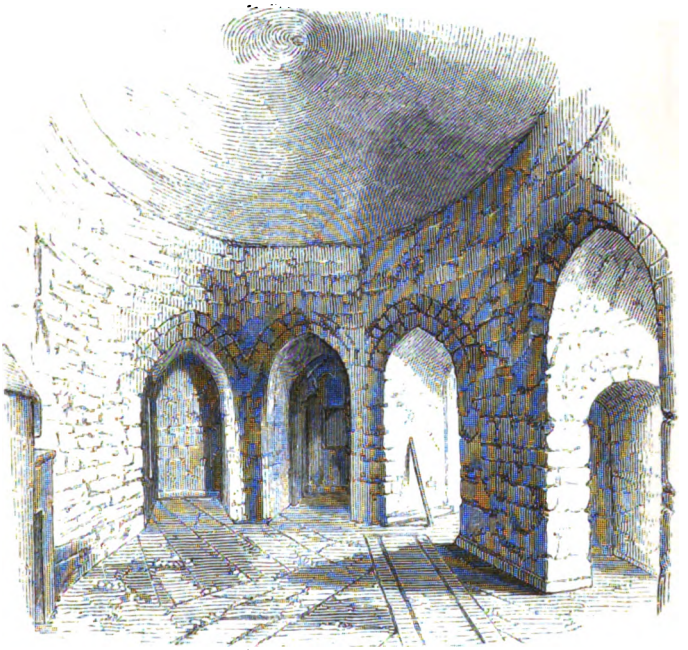

INTERIOR OF THE BELL TOWER,

TOWER OF LONDON.

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of the outer, ward, has four recesses divided by three short piers. On each of the piers is a capital, from which spring strong ribs, perfectly plain, that meet at a boss in the lofty centre, and form high-pointed arches. The shaft, which no doubt originally stood beneath each capital, has departed, and three of the recesses themselves have been altered from their primary form by having been more than half filled up. The special point of interest lies, however, in the capitals themselves and the magnificent boss; and I have had them carefully drawn and engraved of a size sufficient to show their peculiarities. (*See the plate.*) The cell itself is the subject of two characteristic engravings in J. T. Smith's "Ancient Topography of London, 1810," from drawings taken in June, 1802; but the boss and capitals are represented of too small a scale for any scientific purpose. These, however, immediately reveal the age of the structure, and prove the correctness of our attribution of it to the reign either of John or of Henry III. They constitute also, I believe, the only examples now remaining in the fortress of ornamentation of this age and style. We possess here and there, though rarely, sculptured ornaments of the period of the following century, as in the well-known grotesque heads which support the groining in the portal under the Bloody Tower; but I know no example of an earlier date, save, of course, the capitals in the Norman Chapel of St. John, and those of which representations are here given.

The chamber above the basement is nearly circular in form and eighteen feet in diameter.* (*See view and plan.*) It has four recesses not unlike those of the room below, two of which are windows, and two are partly filled up with rubble masonry. The roof is conical, not vaulted with ribs, but formed of overlapping courses of thin stones, and covered on the outside with a leaden roof of similar figure, between the base of which and the brick parapet is a narrow footpath communicating with the wooden turret. The height of the recesses is 10 ft. 3 in.; from thence to the spring of the roof 4 ft.; and then about 8 ft. to the apex of the conical ceiling. This chamber is by no means of so gloomy a character as the dungeon beneath; and, if the recesses just de-

* I am indebted for a very accurate plan of it to Mr. George Arnold, of the Royal Engineers' Office.

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scribed as filled up were opened for the admission of light, would be a very cheerful and pleasant apartment. In its present condition it has, nevertheless, an unmistakable air of captivity and its accompanying severities.

Our national records, although not absolutely conclusive of the fact that the Bell Tower was erected in the reign either of John or of Henry III., do not prohibit our attribution of it to that period. The Close Rolls of both these reigns contain numerous entries of additions and repairs to the fortress at large.* There is an entry on the Close Roll of the seventh year of Henry III. which not improbably refers to the very turret whose history I am endeavouring to illustrate:—

"·f D' comput̃. } Rex Baro'ibus suis de Sc^a^c'io sal̃t'. Co'putate Ric'o Renger ꝛ̃ Thome Lamberd x. libras xij. s̃. ꝛ̃ j. deñ quos lib̃av̀nt ꝑ p̃ceptũ nr̃m Pet^o^ Pictaṽ ꝛ̃ sociis suis custodibus opacionis nove turelle Turris ñre Lond, ad opacionē ejusdē turelle . T. H. ꝛ̃c̃. ut s^a^, anno r̃. ñ. vij^o^, ꝑ eundē." (Rot. Claus. 7 Hen. III. p. 1. m. 24.)

The works of the outer ward appear to have been commenced in the year 1239, the twenty-third of the same monarch, and to have been continued with various interruptions throughout his reign. The year just named is mentioned also by Matthew Paris as one in which the Tower was considerably strengthened. The citizens, he tells us, were apprehensive that the King's operations were undertaken for their detriment, and upon their remonstrance his majesty declared that he intended no injury; but for the future, he said, "I will endeavour in rebuilding castles to imitate my brother, whom fame reports to be wiser than myself."† The

* Rot. Claus. 14 Joh. m. 2; 15 Joh. p. 2, m. 5, 9; 16 Joh. m. 7; 17 Joh. m. 23.

Rot. Claus. 1 Hen. III. m. 17; 2 Hen. III. m. 11, 14; 3 Hen. III. p. 2. m. 1; 4 Hen. III. m. 1; 5 Hen. III. m. 1, 3, 4, 5, 13; 6 Hen. III. m. 4; 7 Hen. III. p. 1. m. 16, 24; 9 Hen. III. p. 2, m. 6; 10 Hen. III. m. 3, &c.

† "Eodem anno [1239] roborata est Turris Londinensis. Quod timuerunt cives Londinenses sibi fieri in detrimentum. Quibus super hoc querimoniam facientibus, respondit Rex civibus: Hoc non in dedecus eorum vel periculum factum fuisse; sed sicut fratrem meum, quem fama me prudentiorem prædicat, in re-ædificatione castrorum de cætero conabor imitari." Matt. Paris, ed. Wats, Lond. 1640, p. 486.

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remains now under review are sufficient evidence that he not only, as one writer says, "surrounded the Tower with an additional line of fortifications," portions of which may still be seen in several of the beautiful towers of the outer ward, but that one at least of those of the inner ward was the result of his or of his predecessor's care. I incline to the former period, during which this tower may have been at least designed and commenced, even supposing that the entry on the Close Roll just quoted refers to the liquidation of the expenses connected with its completion, as the work both of the Bell and the Devereux Towers appears a little earlier than the remains of the Cradle and the Well Towers, which were undoubtedly erected by the latter monarch.

Of the history of the Bell Tower during many subsequent reigns we have no memorials. But in the twenty-third year of Henry VIII. an order was given for a general repair of the fortress, which seems to have been much neglected, and suffered to fall into a state of considerable dilapidation. The survey which was taken consequent upon this order is still preserved in the Record Office. It is not quite perfect, but is extremely interesting for its varied and minute details.

About the Bell Tower, this Survey presents us, in a mutilated form, with the following particulars:—

"The Bell Tower . . . . . ng at the weste ende of the Tower. The walls of the same . . . . . repayrede, and the vyces and the ha . . . s of a dore to be made by the masons, and a new dore therunto of tymber by the carpenters; moreover the same Tower to be roughe-casted; th'amount of the same by estymacion as followith:—

"Cane stone, iij. tons, sm . . . . .; tymber, d. loode bourds, c . . . .; lyme, viij$^{c.}$ at v$^{s.}$ the c . . . .; sande, xxiiij. loodes, at vj$^{d.}$"

There is also among the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum, "A Perticular of the names of the Towers and Prison lodgings in his Ma^{ts} Tower of London, taken out of a pap' of Mr. Will'm ffrancklyns, sometyme yeoman-warder, dat. 16th March, 1641." In this enumeration the structure with which we are at present engaged is particularized as,

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"Bell Tower. Adjoyning to ye Lt's house, a prison lodgeing." (Harl. MS. 1326, p. 125.)

There is nothing in the subsequent history of the place that claims attention; and I therefore turn in conclusion to a topic connected with it which has hitherto been barely alluded to, but which the last words of the extract just quoted very naturally force upon our notice.

This tower was for many centuries "a prison lodging," and the walls, if they could speak, would reveal many a tale of long-endured anguish and the pining sickness of hope so far deferred as to have almost if not altogether left the sufferer. Here day after day and year after year were endured the monotony and weariness of captivity, only terminated in many instances by a violent death from the headsman's axe. In some cases, as we may suppose, the spirit so yearned for liberty that the body was unequal to the burden; while in others, when the captive was gifted with a more phlegmatic temperament, the protracted slavery ceased at length to inflict its woe. And yet, even in such instances as these, fearful must have been the ordeal and horrible the torment before such a state of insensibility could have at length been reached.

At the left of the entrance to the upper chamber there is a record which some unhappy prisoner has beguiled his dreary hours by rudely inscribing on the wall. It is a melancholy memorial indeed of suffering patiently endured.

BY . TORTVRE . STRAVNGE .
MY . TROVTH . WAS . TRIED .
YET . OF . MY . LYBERTYE . DENYED .
THER . FOR . RESON . HATH
ME . PERSWADED . THAT .
PASYENS . MVST . BE . YMB
RASYD . THOGH . HARD .
FORTVN . CHASYTH .
ME . WYTH . SMART .
YET . PASYENS . SHAL . PREVAYL .

No name nor date identifies this pathetic declaration with any individual captive or particular era. It is not improbable that he

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was one of the sufferers in the rebellion of Sir Thomas Wyat, in the reign of Queen Mary; or possibly he was implicated in one of the many conspiracies which endangered that of her successor. The sentiment is identical with that of Thomas Myagh, 1581, in the Beauchamp Tower, and is not unlike that which George Gyfford, "one of Queene Elizabeth's gentlemen pencionaries, that had sworne to kill the Queene," inscribed on his prison wall, also in the Beauchamp Tower, on the 8th of August, 1586, "DOLOR PATIENTIA VINCITUR." We may charitably hope that the poor tortured prisoner, who was so much under the government of reason as to feel that patience was his only remedy, was abundantly blessed with that, to him, most needful grace, and that "in his patience he possessed his soul."

Of course the identification of particular prisoners with particular cells is for the most part legendary, and we can very rarely adduce precise and certain proof of the correctness of such attribution. Where, however, tradition has constantly gone in one direction, and where age after age the same legend has obtained, it appears to savour of perverse incredulity to hesitate to accept what is not plainly and flagrantly opposed to probability. The voice of tradition, for which we can cite positive authority so early at least as the following generation, asserts that the upper chamber was the prison of the venerable Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, who suffered death for denying the spiritual supremacy of Henry VIII. In the year 1534 it was declared by Parliament that the King was the supreme head of the national church. This ordinance was opposed by many of the most eminent ecclesiastics and laymen of the period, among the former of whom may be mentioned the Priors of Charterhouse, Bellevale, and Sion, and the Bishop of Rochester; and, among the latter, the famous Sir Thomas More.

John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, was one of the foremost men of his age. He had been chosen by the University of Cambridge for Chancellor, and made Bishop of Rochester by Henry VII. For many years he had also been confessor to the King's grandmother, Margaret Countess of Richmond; and it is affirmed that her munificent foundations of St. John's and Christ's Colleges at Cambridge, and of the professorships of divinity in both univer-

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sities, were mainly owing to his pious advice and faithful direction. In the troubles between Henry and Queen Katharine he warmly espoused the cause of the latter, and thus drew down upon himself the displeasure of his unscrupulous sovereign. At length, when called before the Lambeth Council, and commanded to acknowledge the King's supremacy, he steadily refused to submit, and was forthwith sent to the Tower as a traitor.

He had now reached his seventy-seventh year, and the cold damp dungeon into which he was thrust was not calculated to prolong his days. Perhaps his enemies desired nothing so much as that privation and hardship should work their natural effect upon his aged frame, and thus remove from them the odium which could not fail to attach to all who should be instrumental in his more direct and manifest destruction. His constitution, however, was proof against the cruelties that were inflicted on him, and for many long months he bore his sufferings as became a good soldier in a cause on which his heart and mind were set. Fuller, who may be safely relied on for faithfully repeating the traditions of his age, speaks of him as "but coursely used" in his prison "in the Bell Tower," "pitied for his age, honoured for his learning," and "admired for his holy conversations;" whose life was not worth taking, "who was not only *mortalis*, as all men, and *mortificatus*, as all good men, but also *moriturus*, as all old men, being past seventy-six years of age."*

Out of his painful dungeon, in the depth of a bitter winter, he wrote to Mr. Secretary Cromwell the affecting words that follow. A portion of the letter, which I have here given entire, has been already printed, but with very small pretensions to accuracy. The venerable writer says:—

"After my most hwmyl coñendacions, wher ass ye be content that I shold wryte wn to the Kyngs hyghness, in gude fathe I dread me that I kan not be soo circũspect in my wryteng but that swm wurde shal escape me wher with his grace shal be moved to swm further displeasure aganste me, wherof I wold be veray sory. ffor ass I wyll answer byfor God, I wold not in eny maner of poynte offend his grace, my dewty saved wn to God, whom I muste in euery thyng prefer. And for this consideracion I am

* Church History, book v. pp. 190, 201, 203, fol. Lond. 1655.

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full loth, & full of fear, to wryte wn to his hyghness in this matter. Neuertheless, sythen I conceyve that itt is yor mynde that I shal so doo, I wyl endevor me to the best that I kan.

" But furst hear I mwst byseche yow gode Mr Secretary to call to yor rememberance that att my last beyng byfor yow & the other Coñyssionars, for takyng of the othe concernyng the Kyngs most noble succession, I was content to be sworn wnto that parcell cõcernyng the succession. And ther I did rehears this reason, which I sade moved me. I dowted nott but that the prynce of eny realme, with the assent of his nobles & comons, myght appoynte for his succession Royal such an order ass was seen wnto his wysdom most accordyng. And for this reason I sade that I was content to be sworn wnto that parte of the othe ass concernyng the succession. This is a veray trowth ass God help my sowl att my most neede. All be itt I refused to swear to swm other parcels bycause that my conscience wold not serve me so to doo. Forthermor I byseche yow to be gode Mr wn to me in my necessite. For I have nather shert, nor shete, nor yett other cloths, that ar necessary for me to wear, but that be ragged & rent to shamefully. Notwithstondyng I myght easyly suffer that, if tha wold keep my body warm. Butt my dyet allso, God knowes how sclendar itt is att meny tymes. And now in myn age my sthomak may nott awaye but with a few kynd of meats, which if I want, I decaye forthwith, & fall in to coafes & disseasis of my bodye, & kañ not keep myself in health. And, ass or Lord knowith, I have no thyng left wn to me for to provyde eny better, but ass my brother of his own part layeth owt for me, to his great hynderance.

" Wherfor, gode Mr Secretarye, eftsones I byseche yow to have swm pittea wppon me, & latt me have such thyngs ass ar necessary for me in myn age, & specially for my health. And allso that yt may pleas yow by yor hygh wysdañ, to move the Kyng's hyghness to take me wn to his gracioss favor agane, & to restoor me wn to my liberty, owt of this cold & paynefwll enprysonment; whearby ye shal bynd me to be yor pore beadsmãn for ewer wn to allmyghty God, who euer have yow in his proteccion & custody.

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"Other twayne thyngs I must all so desyer wppon yow. Thatt oon is, that itt may pleas yow that I may take sume preest with in the towr, by the assygment of m̃ levetenant, to hear my confession aganste this hooly tyme.

"That other is, that I may borow swm bowks to styr my deuocion mor effectuelly thes hooly dayes, for the comforth of my sowl. This I byseche yow to grãnt me of yor charitie. And thws or Lord send yow a mery Chrystenmass & a comforthable, to yor harts desyer. At the Towr the xxij. day of December.

"Yor pore beadsmañ, Jo. Roffs." *

A late writer is disposed to throw some doubt upon the fact of the privations detailed in the foregoing letter, and prefers to accept the account given by Cromwell himself to the papal legate Cassalis. Nothing, however, can well be more open to suspicion than the testimony of one whose object it so manifestly was to invest his tyrannical master's outrage with a fair and plausible colouring. The writer alluded to admits that the bishop's complaint might have been founded on truth, but adds that, if so, "it must have been an accident."

The case may be safely left at this point. All who recollect the varied atrocities which characterized the reign of Henry VIII. and the manifold brutalities of that remorseless tyrant, can too well understand how far the injuries that were perpetrated on the hapless victims of his displeasure were inflicted by "*accident.*"

There are now preserved in the State Paper Office some volumes of "Tracts, Theological and Political," formerly deposited in the Chapter House at Westminster. Some of them are mutilated by the damp, but sufficient remains to afford minute information on a number of most interesting topics. In the seventh volume of these Papers is a series of "Interrogatories ministered on the King's behalf [unto] John Fissher, Doctour of Divinitie, late Busshop [of Rochester], the 14th daie of June, in

* MS. Cott. Cleop. E. vi. f. 172. Manu propria Ep. Roff.

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the 27 ȝere of [the reign] of King Henrie theighth, within the Towre [of London], &c.* The interrogatories relate principally to the vexed question of the supremacy, and the prisoner is reported as refusing to answer them "absolutely" or "resolutelye." More occupied another dungeon in the Tower, and was similarly examined the same day, but with no better success on the part of the inquisitors. The bishop was at length tried and condemned on the 17th of June, 1535, and left his prison for the block on the 22nd of the same month. He had been so much reduced by the privations which he had undergone as to be hardly able to descend the stairs. He dressed himself carefully for what he called his marriage morning, so earnestly did he long for his release from his protracted and varied misery.†

Another inmate of this tower is said to have been the princess, afterwards Queen, Elizabeth. This tradition, however, is allowed on all hands to be of so unsubstantial a character as to deserve nothing more than a passing notice.

Little remains to be offered to the reader. Doubtless there were many other gloomy histories connected with the place, but they have sunk into oblivion. Change, indeed, and contrast can hardly be greater than the present appearance, both external and internal, of the adjuncts of this ancient turret, and that which it exhibited for many consecutive ages. The evidences of life-long captivity have now departed, and the sounds which once re-echoed within these massive walls have now subsided into others of a very different character. It is now, thanks to the courtesy of its gallant and accomplished master, the pleasant scene of an archæological pilgrimage, the cellar of a homely and comfortable mansion, the place for spending a vacant hour by its owner's favoured friends. And yet it needs but little imagination to picture the scene as it was once, with its hopeless and cheerless atmosphere of slavery; the sickly rays of struggling light that availed but to make its darkness visible; the chains, and bolts, and bars, between it and freedom; and, worst of all, the living victim of

* Tracts, vol. vii. leaf 5. State Papers, Lond. 1830, vol. i. pp. 431, 432. They may be seen also in MS. Cott. Cleop. E. vi. p. 169.

† There is a most interesting account of his last moments in Fuller's Church History, already referred to, book v. pp. 203—205.

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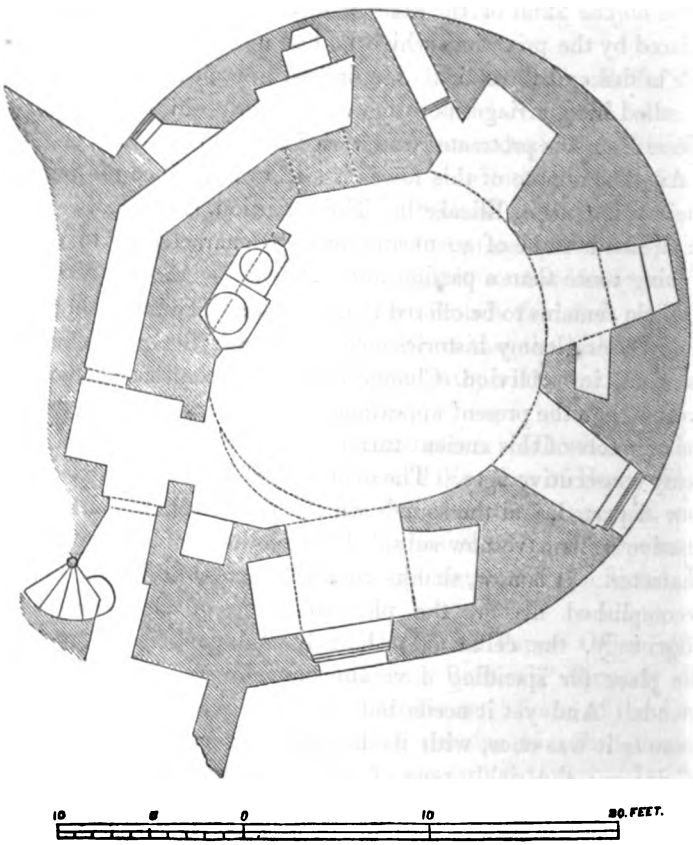
this wretchedness and rigour, with despair, or "pasiens" at best, for his consoler, the knowledge that for him the sun shone and the breeze sighed in vain,—the struggle between rage and apathy,—and the iron that entered not only into the quick of his tortured body, but also into the depths of his agonised and troubled soul.

THOMAS HUGO.



PLAN OF THE BELL-TOWER, 1858.

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THE LIEUTENANTS OF THE TOWER OF LONDON.

BY JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS, F.S.A.

[Read at the Suffolk Street Gallery, Feb. 10, 1858.]

THE principal governor or keeper of the Tower of London has always been a Constable, except in the reigns of Elizabeth, James, and Charles the First, during great part of which that office was in abeyance. For many centuries, however, there has also been a Lieutenant, upon whom, in ordinary times, the execution of the duties of Constable has devolved, because the Constable has been seldom resident within the fortress.

It is impossible to fix the date when a Lieutenant was first appointed. His tenure of office was originally but temporary, during the absence of the Constable, at whose pleasure he was placed and removed. In a table of the fees of the officers of the Tower,* to which the year 4 Ric. II. is prefixed, (though its language is of somewhat later date,) we read, "Item, the said Constable by his power maketh a Lieutenaunt, and giveth him every yeare in fee xx^{li}." In later times the Lieutenant has been nominated by the Sovereign under letters patent, either for life or during pleasure, but gradually the appointment came to be made for life.

Mr. Bayley, in his History of the Tower, has given what he supposed to be a complete series of the Constables, but was unable to describe the Lieutenants in like manner. He remarks† that "it would be difficult, and perhaps impossible, to trace a regular succession of these officers, and I shall therefore not pretend to anything beyond a cursory notice of such of them whose names are introduced to us by any particular circumstances."

On the present occasion, I cannot undertake to supply all that Mr. Bayley left deficient, but merely to contribute some additional notices that may help to fill up the history of the custody of the Metropolitan Fortress, particularly in the sixteenth century.

* Bayley's History of the Tower, Appendix, p. xcvii. † Vol. i. p. 665.

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The first name we find is that of GILES DE OUDENARD, the Lieutenant of bishop Anthony Bek when Constable in the reign of Edward the First. RALPH BAVANT was the Lieutenant of John de Crumwell in the next reign; and SIR ROGER ASTON Lieutenant in the reign of Henry the Fifth, when King James of Scotland and other distinguished persons were prisoners.*

In the reign of Henry the Seventh SIR JOHN DIGBY was Deputy or Lieutenant to the earl of Oxford, then Constable.

In the reign of Henry the Eighth we read of several who in succession filled the office:—

SIR RICHARD CHOLMONDELEY was Lieutenant in the year 1517; when, at the period afterwards known as Evil May-day, the Londoners rose against the Lombards and other merchant strangers; and on that occasion, in order to intimidate the rioters, he discharged some artillery from the fortress against the city, but did no great injury.† Sir Richard erected, in the chapel of St. Peter in the Tower, an altar-tomb sustaining effigies of himself and his wife, the former wearing the collar of esses, in token of his being a servant of the crown, under the dynasty of the house of Lancaster. There is a beautiful engraving of this monument in Bayley's History of the Tower. It was never inscribed with the date of sir Richard's death; but that is shown by his will, which was dated on the 26th Dec. 1521,‡ and proved on the 24th of March following. He had been present on the 13th May in that year at the trial of the duke of Buckingham, who was brought into Westminster Hall by sir Thomas Lovell and sir Richard Cholmondeley, then Constable and Lieutenant of the Tower.

In 1528 SIR EDWARD WALSINGHAM was Lieutenant, being mentioned in the accounts of the treasurer of the chamber for that year (published in the Trevelyan Papers recently printed for the

* See Bayley's Appendix, p. xxxi.

† "While this ruffling continued, syr Richard Cholmley knight, Lieutenant of the Towre, no great frende to the citie, in a frantyke fury losed certayn peces of ordinaunce, and shot into the citie, whiche did little harme, howbeit his good wyl apered." Hall's Chronicle.

‡ This date is misprinted 1651 in Ormerod's History of Cheshire, iii. 208: where some biographical notices of sir Richard will be found. Sir Roger Cholmondeley, afterwards recorder of London and chief justice of the King's Bench, was his natural son.

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Camden Society); he received a quarterly fee of 25*l.*, and in addition "for finding of prisoners,"—*i.e.* finding necessaries for prisoners unable to pay for their own support, a further sum of 25*l.** Sir Edward Walsingham was still Lieutenant in 1540, and then in charge of the last aged relic of the Plantagenets, Margaret countess of Salisbury, who was so barbarously butchered in the following year by the pitiless cousin who then occupied the throne of her ancestors. Sir Edward Walsingham is said to have continued Lieutenant for twenty-two years.†

1541. At this period we find sir William Kingston the Constable of the Tower, who was also Captain of the King's guard, actively engaged in the execution of his office. He it was who arrested cardinal Wolsey, and attended upon queen Anne Boleyne during her imprisonment. Dr. Lingard has on the latter occasion described him as Lieutenant instead of Constable.‡

The name of SIR WILLIAM SIDNEY is next mentioned as Lieutenant. He was a person of great eminence in his day, the father of sir Henry Sidney, Knight of the Garter, and grandfather of the illustrious sir Philip: but I do not find, in the Lives of the Sidneys, written by Arthur Collins, any notice of sir William's occupation of this office.

In 1546 SIR ANTHONY KNEVETT was the Lieutenant present at the racking of Anne Askew in the Tower; when, because of his unwillingness to increase the sufferings of the unhappy woman, the lord chancellor Wriothesley and master Rich § are related to

* Trevelyan Papers, i. 143. The Lieutenant's christian name is there misgiven "Edmonde;" and the Editor has fallen into another error in affixing to the name of the lord Curzon, who occurs in the same page as receiving a quarterly fee of 100*l.*, a note stating that he was "Constable of the Tower." The office of sir Edward Curzon, sometimes called the Baron Curzon, was that of Master of the Ordnance: which he held in 1522. (Chronicle of Calais.)

† Hasted's History of Kent, fol. 1778, vol. i. p. 99.

‡ The same error occurs in Burnet's History of the Reformation, in the Excerpta Historica, p. 260; and in Ellis's Original Letters, First Series, ii. 53, where are several of sir William Kingston's letters to Crumwell respecting Anne Boleyne.

§ Himself, afterwards, like Wriothesley, a lord chancellor. These are the two names mentioned in the sufferer's own narrative. In the anecdote which describes the Lieutenant's conduct on the occasion the name of sir Richard

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have taken off their gowns in order to ply the rack with their own hands. Sir Anthony was also in attendance in Smithfield when Anne Askew and her companions completed their sufferings at the stake.

The last Lieutenant in the reign of Henry the Eighth was SIR WALTER STONER, whose christian name is omitted by mr. Bayley. He received at Midsummer and Christmas 1547 payment of xxv^{li}. as his quarter's wages, xxv^{li}. more for poor prisoners, and xxxiiij^{li}. v^{s}. for the wages of fifteen yeomen of the Tower.*

We thus arrive at the close of the reign of Henry the Eighth without meeting with the name of sir William Skeffington, who immortalised himself by the invention of a new engine of torture, which was called *Skeffington's daughter*, or corruptly *the Scavenger's daughter*.

A committee appointed by the House of Commons in 1604, reported that they found in the dungeon called *Little Ease* in the Tower, "an engine of torture devised by Mr. Skevington, some time Lieutenant of the Tower, called *Skevington's Daughter*,† and

Baker takes the place of mr. Rich. See my pamphlet entitled "The Racking of Anne Askew," 1859, 8vo.

* Accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber, in the possession of sir Walter C. Trevelyan, Bart. The last sum is misprinted xxxiv^{li}. xv^{s}. in the Trevelyan Papers, p. 194.

† In Foxe's Book of Martyrs will be found a representation of Cuthbert Symson, bound, head and feet, in the embraces of Skeffington's Daughter, in the year 1557. "This engine is called *Skevyngton's Gives*, wherein the body standeth double, the head being drawen towards the feete. The forme and maner of these gyves, and of his (Cuthbert Symson's) rackyng, you may see in the booke of Martyrs, folio 1631." (Letters of the Martyrs, 1564, 4to. p. 686.) A few years later, the adherents of Rome had in their turn a personal acquaintance with these instruments of torture. Mathias Tanner, the martyrologist of the Jesuits, describes the Scavenger's Daughter, (to which the name had then become corrupted,) as inflicting torments the very reverse of those of the rack, but at the same time much more painful, producing in some victims a discharge of blood from the hands and feet, and in others from the nose and mouth. His words are: "Præcipua torturæ post equuleum *(the rack)* Anglis species est, *Filia Scavingeri* dicta, priori omnino postposita. Cùm enim ille membra, alligatis extractisque in diversa manuum pedumque articulis, ab invicem distrahat: hæc e contra illa violentè in unum veluti globum colligat et constipat. Trifariam hìc corpus complicatur, cruribus ad femora, femoribus ad ventrem appressis, atque ita arcubus

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that the place itself was very loathsome and unclean, and not used for a long time either for a prison or other cleanly purpose." But on further inquiry I am satisfied that sir William Skeffington was never Lieutenant of the Tower. He was Master of the Ordnance,* and it was in that capacity that he was required to produce this engine of penal suffering, and performed his hateful task in a manner that has contributed so materially to immortalise his name—for the very gives that he furnished are still preserved and exhibited among the curiosities of the Tower Armoury.

Before Lady-day in 1547 sir Walter Stoner had been succeeded by SIR JOHN MARKHAM, who received the same sum as his predecessor.† He was Lieutenant whilst bishop Gardyner was a prisoner in the Tower, and the long examinations relative to that prelate published in the first edition of Foxe's Actes and Monuments,‡ disclose a remarkable picture of what occurred when a prisoner of high rank received his discharge. At midsummer in 1551 the bishop was daily expecting that this would be his happy lot, and he therefore commanded his servant John Davy to write the rewards, duties, and gifts due to master Lieutenant and the Knight-marshal, and the King's servants, such as he intended to bestow on his departing. And also caused him to send for a piece of satin, to be divided among the lady Markham and others, as he should think meet: which satin was bought, and this deponent (John Davy) hath now the most part thereof in keeping. Also the

ferreis duobus includitur, quorum extrema dum ad se invicem labore carnificum in circulum coguntur, corpus interim miseri inclusum informi compressione pene eliditur. Immane prorsus et dirius equuleo cruciamentum, cujus immanitate corpus totum ita arctatur, ut aliis ex eo sanguis extremis manibus et pedibus exsudet, aliis ruptâ pectoris crate copiosus è naribus forcibusque sanguis effundatur, prout Cottamo etiam tum hecticâ miserè laboranti evenit, amplius horâ integrâ anulo concluso." (*Societas Jesu usque ad Sanguinis et Vitæ profusionem Militans, &c. auctore Mathia Tanner, SS.T.D. Pragæ*, 1675, folio, p. 18.) Thomas Cottam, the Jesuit here mentioned, suffered in the year 1582.

* He is so styled in 21 and 22 Hen. VIII. when payments were made to him for his services when sent into Ireland. Trevelyan Papers, pp. 155, 156.

† MS. Trevelyan. The like entries continue quarterly to Michaelmas 3 Edw. VI. (1549,) when that record terminates.

‡ Reprinted in the last impression edited by the Rev. S. R. Cattley, but not in the intermediate editions.

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said bishop, about the same time, made his farewell feast (as they then called it) in the council-chamber in the Tower, containing two or three dinners, whereat he had the Lieutenant and the Knight-marshal* and their wives, with divers others, as sir Arthur Darcy and the lady his wife, sir Martin Bowes, sir John Godsalve,† with divers others, such as it pleased the Lieutenant and Knight-marshal to bring.

Sir John Markham the Lieutenant, and sir Ralph Hopton the Knight-marshal, when examined on the same occasion, both asserted that the bishop called it his farewell supper, but when asked whether there was "any custom of any such farewell supper to be made of the prisoners when leaving the Tower," they answered that they could not depose.

At this period sir John Gage was Constable of the Tower, but as a Romanist much distrusted:‡ for which reason the government of the fortress rested chiefly with the Lieutenant. But it appears that the same distrust extended towards sir John Markham.§ When the privy council laid their plans for the deposition of the duke of Somerset from his protectorate, they sent for sir John Markham on the 6th Oct. 1549, and required him to suffer certain others to enter the Tower for the good keeping thereof to

* Sir Ralph Hopton was Knight-marshal in 1551.

† These were neighbours, resident within the Tower. The two latter were officers of the Mint and Jewelhouse.

‡ During the reign of Edward VI. on the 28th May, 1552, sir Edward Bray had a grant of the office of Constable of the Tower in reversion after the death of sir John Gage, with the fee of one hundred pounds per ann. Bayley in his History of the Tower, p. 663, (copied by Brayley, in his smaller History,) has misnamed him sir *Edmund* Bray. He was the brother of Edmund lord Bray, who died in 1539, and some biographical notices of him by William Bray, the late Treasurer of the Society of Antiquaries, will be found in the History of Surrey, fol. 1804, vol. i. p. 517. But whether sir Edward Bray ever occupied the office of Constable I have not ascertained. He died on the 1st Dec. 1558; and sir Robert Oxenbridge (see hereafter, p. 235) had been appointed Constable nearly two years before that time, perhaps on the demise of sir John Gage, who died 25 Apr. 1556.

§ Sir John Markham of Cotham in Nottinghamshire, and M.P. for that county. His will is dated April 1, 1559, but the date of his death is not stated in A History of the Markham Family, by the Rev. David Frederick Markham, 1854, 8vo., pp. 19, 114.

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his Majesty's use; whereunto the said Lieutenant according, sir Edmund Peckham (who was Treasurer of the Mint) and Leonard Chamberlain esquire * (the same Chamberlain I suppose who was Gentleman Porter at the Tower,) with their servants, were commanded to enter into the Tower as assistants to the said Lieutenant, for the better presidency and guard of the same.† After this political crisis was passed, sir John Markham appears to have been restored to the functions of his office. He was still Lieutenant when examined in the matter of bishop Gardyner on the 8th Jan. 1551-2, being then sixty years of age.‡ But before the end of the same year sir John Markham was removed from this office, for a reason which is thus stated by King Edward in his Journal: viz. that, "without making any of the Council privy, he had suffered the duke of Somerset, then his prisoner, to walk abroad, and certain letters to be sent and answered between David Seymour and mistress Poings, with divers other suspicions."§

On this alarm, on the 17th Oct. 1551, a letter was addressed to the Lieutenant of the Tower for sir Arthur Darcy and sir Ralph Hopton to receive as their associate for their safe keeping of the Tower mr. Leonard Chamberlain; and on Michaelmas day following SIR ARTHUR DARCY was regularly appointed the Lieutenant.‖ In the Harleian MSS. 284, are preserved the instructions

* Mr. Bayley, p. 77, erroneously calls him *sir* Leonard, and in his Index describes him as "Lieutenant," which he never was. Subsequently he became a knight. Sir Leonard Chamberlain "of Oxfordshire," was one of the knights of the carpet made at the coronation of queen Mary.

† Register of the Privy Council.

‡ Foxe's Actes and Monuments, edit. 1838, vi. 191.

§ Literary Remains of King Edward VI. p. 358.

‖ "A warrant to sir William Cavendisshe knight, etc., to pay sir Arthur Darcie knight, as well the fee or wages of C^{li} by yeare, for thexercising of the rome of Lieutenaunt of the Towre of London from the feast of Michalmas last quarterly during the Kinges pleasure, as C^{li} for the fynding of the prisoners within the sayd Towre.

"A warrant to Thexcheker to pay the sayd s^{r} Arthur Darcie knight, aswell the some of iij^{xx}xiij ^{li} v^{s} iiij^{d} for the necessary apparell of Thomas late Duke of Norff. as the some of iiij^{xx} ^{li} for his spending monie from michalmas last yearely during the Kinges pleasure.

"A like warraunt to Thexcheker to pay to the sayd s^{r} Arthur Darcie

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given to him on entering into office, followed by a report made by him. He did not retain the office long, for within a short time we meet with the name of sir EDWARD WARNER.

But another great political crisis was now at hand. The failing health of king Edward suggested to the ambitious duke of Northumberland the elevation of lady Jane Grey to the throne with one of his own sons, the lord Guildford Dudley, as her consort. Among his preparations for this scheme was that of placing in the Tower a commander of greater importance than the Lieutenant, and one who would supersede the authority of the Constable, sir John Gage. For this object, in May, 1553, sir James Croft, a privy councillor, and late lieutenant of Ireland, was appointed *Deputy Constable*, with the fee of forty shillings a day: and instructions were directed to him and to sir Edward Warner, the Lieutenant, conjointly, for their proceedings touching the good order that should be kept within the fortress.*

At the end of the following month, the lord admiral Clinton was substituted in the place of sir James Croft, but he does not appear to have actually assumed his command until the King had breathed his last. That event occurred at Greenwich on the evening of the 6th of July, 1553, and immediately after at two o'clock in the following morning a deputation of the council arrived at the Tower, consisting of the lord treasurer Winchester, the marquess of Northampton, the earl of Shrewsbury, and the lord admiral Clinton, when the last named was left in charge of the treasure, the military stores, and the prisoners. Such is the statement of the French ambassador Noailles, who was closely

knight, aswell the some of lix^{li} vj^{s} viij^{d} for the necessary apparell of Edward Courtney as l^{li} for his spending monie yearely as th'other." (Royal MS. Brit. Mus. 18 C. XXIV. f. 162.)

"A warrant to the treasurer of Th'augmentations to pay to sir James Croft, Deputie Constable of the Tower, xl^{s} by the day for xxx men appointed under him, and to sir Edward Warner viij^{d} a day a pece for x (*sic*) men." (Royal MS. 18 C, XXIV. f. 345.)

* "May 13, 1553. Instructions geven by his Matie unto sir James Croftes knight, appointed for the tyme Deputie Cunstable of the towre of London in th'absence of sir John Gage, and to sir Edward Warner knight, Lievetenaunt of the same towre, for their proceedinges touching the good ordre to be kepte theare."

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watching the progress of events, and whose account is confirmed in the Diary of Henry Machyn; where it is added that on the morrow the lord admiral placed great guns on the White Tower, and in all other suitable places about the fortress. The youthful queen was then brought to the Tower, as was always customary at the commencement of a new reign.

This state of things was soon terminated. The brief reign of queen Jane lasted only for nine days: and then the good Catholic, sir John Gage, was restored to his office of Constable of the Tower, became vice-chamberlain at court, and basked in the beams of royal favour. He was present shortly after at the execution of the duke of Northumberland, but Stowe, in his Chronicle, commits the error of terming him, upon this occasion, Lieutenant instead of Constable.

At the same time SIR JOHN BRYDGES was made the next Lieutenant. He in the following April was advanced to the peerage as baron Chandos of Sudeley; and in the following June his brother THOMAS BRYDGES "toke upon him the lewtenauntship of the Tower."* This gentleman had previously assisted in the duties of the office,† and on one memorable occasion in particular, when he attended the lady Jane to the scaffold, and there received from her hands her manual of prayers,‡ which is now preserved in the British Museum.

* Chronicle of Queen Jane and Queen Mary, p. 76.

† On the 21st Aug. 1553, when the duke of Northumberland and his fellow-prisoners were required "to receave the sacrement according to the olde accustumed maner," the constable sir John Gage "went and fetched the duke, and sir John Abridges and mr. John Abridges (*read* Thomas) dyd fetche the marques of Northampton, sir Androwe Dudley, sir Herry Gates, and sir Thomas Palmer to masse." Chronicle of Queen Jane and Queen Mary, p. 18.

‡ "She gave her book to maister Bruges the lyvetenantes brother." Chronicle of Queen Jane and Queen Mary, p. 57. Grafton in his Chronicle altered this to, "mayster Bruges the lieutenant of the Tower." The book seems to have previously belonged to the Lieutenant, and to have been lent to the lady Jane; as one of her inscriptions in it commences thus: "Forasmutche as you have desired so simple a woman to wrighte in so a worthye a booke, good mayster lieuftenaunte," &c. Even the accurate mr. Gage (Rokewode), in his memoir of sir John Gage, has fallen into a very erroneous account of this incident. He says, "It is particularly re-

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Whilst resident at the Tower, sir Thomas Brydges suffered in his family from one of those accidents which were frequently occurring in the eddying pools beneath old London bridge, in which a former Constable of the Tower, in the reign of Henry IV., sir Thomas Rempston, Knight of the Garter, had lost his life.* On the 10th of August, 1553, as related by Machyn in his Diary, "were drowned seven men at London bridge, by folly; one was master Thomas of Brygys the Lieutenant's son and heir; and three gentlemen more, besides others."

After sir Thomas Brydges, Bayley has introduced the name of sir Henry Bedingfield: who has been mentioned as Constable of the Tower, not Lieutenant, by several of our historical writers, but equally erroneously as to either one or the other office. It is an error which may be traced from our modern historian of the Queens up to John Foxe, who in his Actes and Monuments, when describing the release of the lady Elizabeth from her confinement in the Tower, states that, "on the 5th of May (1554) the constable of the Tower was discharged of his office of the Tower, and one sir Henry Benifield placed in his room." This was a misapprehension of the meaning of the writer whom Foxe followed. What that writer intended was this, that the Constable of the Tower (sir John Gage) was then *discharged of the custody of the lady Elizabeth*—a mode of expression usual at that time, and sir Henry Benifield, or more properly Bedingfeld, was charged with her custody thenceforward, and which duty he afterwards performed, not at the Tower, but at Woodstock.

Sir Robert Oxenbridge occurs as Lieutenant of the Tower in 1556.† He attended to the gallows Charles lord Stourton, who was removed from the Tower on the 2nd March, 1556-7, in order to be hung in Wiltshire, for the murder of the Hartgills.‡

lated by Heylin that the lady Jane Grey, upon the scaffold, gave sir John Gage her tablets, in which she had just written certain sentences in different languages suggested by the sight of the dead body of her husband, lord Guldeford Dudley." History of Hengrave, 1822, p. 229.

* "And this year (1406) sir Thomas Rempston knight of the Garter was drowned in the Thames by his own folly, for he would not be governed by the bargemen, but to have his own rule." Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London.

† Machyn's Diary, p. 108.

‡ Ibid. p. 127.

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On the 31st Jan. 1556–7, sir Robert Oxenbridge was promoted from the office of Lieutenant to that of Constable.* This is the only instance of such promotion, and has hitherto been unknown. So remarkable a proof of the royal confidence, though apparently not the source of greater emolument,† must be attributed to the circumstance of sir Robert being a staunch adherent to the Roman catholic faith,‡ and therefore a favourite with queen Mary.

On the accession of queen Elizabeth, sir Thomas Carden and sir Edward Warner, knights, were appointed to take charge of the Tower jointly with sir Robert Oxenbridge, and the earl of Bedford was commanded to resort to the Tower to see the same safely delivered to them.§ But sir Thomas Carden's name is in Bayley's account of the Lieutenants incorrectly printed in Italic

* This appears from a warrant to the exchequer, dated 4th May, 4 & 5 Philip & Mary, which refers to "an order signed with our own handes, and dated the last day of January in the third and fourth yeares of our reignes, for saulf keeping and good garde of our Tower of London, and by the same wee did appoyncte to have one Constable, one Porter, and twenty and one yomen Warders and seventeen Gonners contynually resydent in person, during our pleasure; mencyoning in the same pryvye seale that wee had appoincted sir Robert Oxenbridge knight to be Constable of our saide Tower, and to have and receave for his wages and entreteynement the somme of one hundred poundes yerely, and for the meate and drynke of poore prisoners committed thither by our commaundement one other hundred poundes yerely." Copy of warrant 4 May 4 & 5 Phil. & Mar. (1558) in State Paper office, Domestic Elizabeth, vol. iii.

† The yearly fee of the Constable and the Lieutenant was alike 100*l.*, as appears by various records quoted in other parts of this memoir. Strype, Memorials, ii. 500, states the yearly fee assigned to Sir Edward Bray as Constable at 50*l.* but this seems to be a mistake: for in the History of Surrey it is stated at 100*l.* as elsewhere.

‡ During the reign of Mary sir Robert was one of the knights in parliament for the county of Sussex, but he did not sit in parliament after Elizabeth's accession. His nephew Andrew Oxenbridge, LL.D. who had been public orator of the university of Cambridge, was one of the recusants imprisoned in Wisbeach castle, released in 1583. (Strype's Annals, iii. 191.) Mr. Durrant Cooper has given a very copious and complete pedigree of Oxenbridge in the Sussex Archæological Collections, vol. viii. p. 230.

§ The letters issued under the Queen's signet on this occasion are printed in Kempe's Loseley Manuscripts, p. 173.

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type as if he had been Lieutenant. His office was that of master of the revels, and storekeeper of the royal tents and pavilions, and it was doubtless in that capacity that he was sent to take charge of the stores at the Tower.

Sir Edward Warner was now restored to the office of Lieutenant, which he had previously occupied in the time of Edward the Sixth. In the intermediate reign he had himself been a prisoner on suspicion of having favoured the conspiracy of Wyatt, and was discharged on the 18th January, 1554-5.* In the roll of queen Elizabeth's new-year's gifts for 1562, he appears as Lieutenant of the Tower, and as presenting her Majesty with 6*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.* "in sundry coynes of golde."† He lost his place not long after because he had permitted the lady Katharine, the sister of the late lady Jane Grey, to be visited by her husband the earl of Hertford, and the lady, by giving birth to a second child, had lately added fresh fuel to the royal jealousy. To this accident the Lieutenant was sacrificed.

Lady Warner was buried within the Tower in 1560.‡

I will not extend this paper, already sufficiently long, by continuing the list of Lieutenants where I should be only repeating the statements of Mr. Bayley. During a period with which my late historical inquiries have made me familiar, I have been able to adduce some new facts, and to correct several errors that have been admitted into works of deserved reputation. To proceed further would entail an amount of research that might perhaps be but little rewarded in the result. I shall therefore, for the subsequent Lieutenants, request the reader to be satisfied, for the present, with the historians of the Tower.

I may, however, remark that in the reign in Elizabeth the Lieutenants became personages of greater importance than before, because the Queen, with her usual parsimony in conferring honours and dignities, did not choose to make any Constable of

* Machyn's Diary, p. 80.

† Queen Elizabeth's Progresses, i. 114.

‡ "The x day of August was bered within the Towre, withowt an offeser of armes, and (with) master Alley the nuw byshope of Excetur, and the chyrch hangyd with blake and armes, my lade Warner, the wyff of ser Edward Warner." Machyn's Diary, p. 241.

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the Tower. The entire charge of the fortress was consequently reposed in the Lieutenant, and no superior officer was appointed, until, towards the end of the reign, at the trials of the earls of Essex and Southampton, in 1601, we find the lord Howard of Walden mentioned as Constable,* and he perhaps held the office in the time of James the First.

In the reign of Charles the First the Tower appears to have been in the custody of a Lieutenant till the year 1640, when lord Cottington was made Constable: the dissatisfaction, however, of the house of Commons, and the clamours of others without, induced the King to remove him, and to leave it as before in the command of a Lieutenant;† and so it remained until 1647; when by an ordinance of both houses of parliament, general Sir Thomas Fairfax was appointed to the custody of the fortress as Constable.‡

Such appointments, however, belonged to seasons of emergency. In more peaceful times the Lieutenant was supreme within the fortress, in which he was necessarily a constant resident. His post had gradually become a very comfortable berth, and was often held for a considerable period of time, as by sir William Waad and sir Allen Apsley§ in the days of James and Charles the First. It was a place of high authority, large patronage, a princely residence, and considerable fees and emoluments. Among the latter was one very characteristic of the good old times, and which reminds us of the tolls exacted by the fortresses on the Rhine and other continental rivers. It was, that the Lieutenant should have the power of tasting a cup from every cargo of wine that entered the port of London.

This is mentioned as a custom in the document of the 4th

* Camden's Elizabeth, in Kennet, ii. 633.

† Whitelock's Memorials, p. 30. ‡ Ibid. p. 264.

§ March 1616-17. "Sir Allen Apsley, the 3. of this month, was sworn Lieutenant of the Tower in the roome of sir George Moore, who was wearye of thatt troublesome and dangerous office." Letters of George Lord Carew, (printed for the Camden Society,) p. 91. The office was probably then esteemed "troublesome and dangerous" in consequence of the disgrace and ruin it had brought upon its holder sir Gervase Elwes, who was hung for his privity to the poisoning of sir Thomas Overbury; but sir Allen Apsley quietly enjoyed it until his death on the 20th May, 1630.

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Richard II., before cited, which states, among the fees of the Constable—

"Item, the said Constable shall have for every galley that cometh two roundletts of wyne, and of all manner of dainties a great quantitie.

"Item, the said Constable shall have of every shippe that cometh with wynes, two bottels, either of them conteyning a gallon, one before, th'other after the maste."*

And again, of the Lieutenant—

"Item, the said Lieutenant shall have of every galley that cometh a roundlett of wyne, and of all manner of daynties a certaine quantitie; and the said Lieutenant in the absence of the Constable shall have of everie ship that cometh with wyne two bottles, either of them conteyning a gallon, one before, and the other after the maste."

In another document of the same kind, the word flagon is used instead of roundlet or bottle, and latterly in the time of James the First we read of bombards, which were leathern vessels, as were the bottles.†

These were all vessels of indefinite capacities, and though in usage the quantity of wine would of course be limited, yet the merchants were not protected from a gradual encroachment. John Taylor the Water-Poet, who was for nearly ten years the Lieutenant's Bottleman in the reign of James the First, not only tells us that his bottles, or bombards, used to bring away six gallons from every ship, but even admits very candidly that he occasionally played the thief to a further extent. Nor was that the only mischief that ensued. The shipmen sometimes resisted, and the bottlemen consequently enforced their claims with violence. In such struggles the former would stab and slash the leathern bottles and throw them into the river, and either party

* Bayley, Appendix, pp. xcvi., xcviii. In p. c. is printed a letter to the mayor and sheriffs of London, from the close roll 6 Ric. II. thus confirming the same perquisite: de qualibet navi vinis carcatâ a Burdegaliâ, seu alibi, usque civitatem prædictam veniente, unam lagenam ante malum, et aliam retro malum.

† Falstaff is on one occasion called "that trunk of humours, that huge *bomburd* of sack."

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had the chance of encountering both blows and wounds. John Taylor, by his good-humoured and crafty devices, usually escaped these perils, though, as he sings,

> ——— each Bottleman but I
> Had always a crackt crown or a black eye,
> Oft beaten like a dog.

Altogether, the Water Poet's story, which is chiefly related in verse, gives a very remarkable account of this ancient custom of the Port of London. It is entitled "Taylor's Farewell to the Tower Bottles."

"About *three* hundred and twenty yeares since, or thereabout," he says, "(I thinke in the raigne of King Richard the Second) [but that would have been only *two* hundred years before the time he wrote,]there was a guift given to the Tower, or to the Lieutenants thereof for the time then and for ever being, which guift was two blacke Leather Bottles, or Bombards of Wine, from every ship that brought wine into the river of Thames: the which hath so continued until this day; but the Merchants finding themselves agreeved lately, because they thought the bottles were made bigger then they were formerly wont to bee, did wage law with the Lieutenant (sir Gervis Helwis by name), in which sute the Lieutenant had been overthrowne but for such witnesses as I found that knew his right for a long time in their owne knowledge. But I having had the gathering of those wines for many yeares, was at last discharged from my place because I would not buy it, which because it was never bought or sold before I would not or durst not venture upon so unhonest a novelty, it being sold indeed at so high a rate that he who so bought it must pay thrice the value of it:" whereupon John Taylor was provoked to take leave of the bottles in his favourite verse.

In the poem he gives the history of his connection with the office of Bottleman. He tells us that he had been a waterman for eight years, when he received the appointment.

> "Then, stroke your beerd, my Maisters, and give eare.
> I was a Waterman twice foure long yeare,
> And liv'd in a contented happy state;
> Then turned the whirling wheele of fickle Fate
> From Water into Wine: Sir William Waad
> Did freely and for nothing turne my trade.

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Ten yeares almost the place I did retaine,
And glean'd great Bacchus' blood from France and Spaine.
Few ships my visitation did escape
That brought the sprightfull liquor of the grape.
My Bottles and my selfe did oft agree,
Full to the top all merry came we three.
Yet alwayes t'was my chance, in Bacchus' spight,
To come into the Tower unfox'd upright.

He then tells us, in prose, that it was his practice to fill the two bottles, being in quantity six gallons, from every ship that brought wine up the river of Thames: the wines were always brought into the Lieutenant's cellar at the Tower (for 316 years), and had never been sold until four or five years before the time of his writing.

But as men's thoughts a world of wayes do range,
So, as Lieutenants chang'd, did customes change.
The ancient use, us'd many yeares before,
Was sold, unto the highest rate and more,
At such a price, that who so e're did give,
Must play the thiefe, or could not save and live,
Which to my cost I manifestly found:
I am well sure it cost me thirty pound
For one yeare, but before the next yeare come
'Twas almost mounted to a double summe.

Here the poet appends another note to tell us that "It was sold at these hard rates by another Lieutenant, (an honest religious gentleman and a good house-keeper,)—[he must meane Sir George More]—by the persuasions of some of his double-diligent servants." Upon this, Taylor says, he was discarded and quite thrust from his place; but, unable to bear the imputations which were publicly passed upon him, he recklessly advanced his biddings:

Rather then I would branded be with shame
And beare the burthen of desertlesse blame,
To be an owle, contemptuously bewondred,
I would give threescore, fourescore, or a hundred,
For I did vow, although I were undone,
I would redeeme my credit over runne,
And 'tis much better in a jayle to rot,
To suffer begg'ry, slavery, or what not,
Then to be blasted with that wrong of wrongs
Which is the poyson of backbiting tongues.

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In the margin he confesses to another and more cunning motive. He heard that the Lieutenant was likely soon to quit his place, and that induced John Taylor to bargain with him at any price, in hope that he would not stay the full reckoning; and so (adds the crafty John) "it fell out as I wished it."

He now was bound by wax and parchment to pay no less a sum than six pounds a month—

Time gallop'd, and brought on the payment day,
And for three months I eighteene pounds did pay;
Then, I confesse, I play'd the Thiefe in graine,
And for one Bottle commonly stole twaine.
But so who buyes the place and meanes to thrive
Must many times for one take foure or five,
For this I will maintaine and verifye
It is an office no true man can buy,
And by that reason sure I should say well
It is unfit for any man to sell:
For till at such an extreame rate I bought
To filch or steale I scarcely had a thought,
And I dare make a vow 'fore God and man
I never playd the Thiefe so much as then.

With the retirement of the Lieutenant, and the appointment of another, who was sir Allen Apsley, in the year 1616–17,—

Then the old custome did againe begin,
And to the Tower I brought the Bottles in,
For which for saving more then halfe a yeare
I (with much love) had wages and good cheere,
Till one most valiant, ignorantly stout,
Did buy, and over-buy, and buy me out—

and who is described in a note, as "A desperate Clothworker, that did hunger and thirst to undoe himself."

There is much more of this curious poem which may be referred to, for a list of the several kinds of wine then in use, and for some remarkable traits of the city and port of London in those times. John Taylor tells us that by this predatory purveyance the Lieutenant of the Tower had often his choice of fifteen sorts of wine; which was "a credit to the King's castle and the Lieutenant thereof"—

And as good wine they were I dare be bold
As any cellar in this land did hold.

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In conclusion, I am happy to have it my power to show the present company a specimen of the Bombard, or Leathern Bottle, or Flagon, with which the Water Poet went to collect his wine. It was called a Bombard from its somewhat resembling in shape the pieces of ordnance made for discharging bombs. My bombard is not quite so old as the days of John Taylor, but it is of the same century, bearing on its front the date 1646, with the crowned initials of King Charles the First.* It was made to contain four gallons, and I think may very probably have belonged either to the Tower or to the palace of Whitehall.

* Since this was written, I have seen another black-jack of the same set and date; it was exhibited at a recent archæological meeting at Stamford, by the Hon. Mrs. Watson, of Rockingham Castle. At Sudeley Castle, Mr. Dent's, I some years ago saw another, very similar. Some black-jacks, that have seen good service, are still in use in the magnificent guest-hall of the porter's lodge at Burghley. A bombard is engraved in Halliwell's folio Shakespeare, 1859, vol. ii. 376.

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A DESCRIPTION OF

THE IMPERIAL STATE CROWN,

PRESERVED IN THE JEWEL HOUSE AT THE TOWER OF LONDON.

BY PROFESSOR TENNANT, OF KING'S COLLEGE.

[Read before the Society at Islington, July 7, 1858.]

THE Imperial State Crown of Her Majesty Queen Victoria was made by Messrs. Rundell and Bridge in the year 1838, with jewels taken from old Crowns, and others furnished by command of Her Majesty. It consists of diamonds, pearls, rubies, sapphires, and emeralds, set in silver and gold; it has a crimson velvet cap with ermine border, and is lined with white silk. Its gross weight is 39oz. 5dwts. Troy. The lower part of the band, above the ermine border, consists of a row of one hundred and twenty-nine pearls, and the upper part of the band a row of one hundred and twelve pearls, between which, in front of the Crown, is a large sapphire (partly drilled), purchased for the Crown by His Majesty King George the Fourth. At the back is a sapphire of smaller size, and six other sapphires (three on each side), between which are eight emeralds.

Above and below the seven sapphires are fourteen diamonds, and around the eight emeralds one hundred and twenty-eight diamonds. Between the emeralds and sapphires are sixteen trefoil ornaments, containing one hundred and sixty diamonds. Above the band are eight sapphires surmounted by eight diamonds, between which are eight festoons consisting of one hundred and forty-eight diamonds.

In the front of the Crown, and in the centre of a diamond Maltese cross, is the famous ruby said to have been given to Edward Prince of Wales, son of Edward the Third, called the Black Prince, by Don Pedro, King of Castile, after the battle of Najera, near Vittoria, A.D. 1367. This ruby was worn in the helmet of Henry the Fifth at the battle of Agincourt, A.D. 1415. It is pierced quite through after the Eastern custom, the upper part of the piercing being filled up by a small ruby. Around this ruby, to form the cross, are seventy-five brilliant diamonds.

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Three other Maltese crosses, forming the two sides and back of the Crown, have emerald centres, and contain respectively one hundred and thirty-two, one hundred and twenty-four, and one hundred and thirty brilliant diamonds.

Between the four Maltese crosses are four ornaments in the form of the French fleur-de-lis, with four rubies in the centres, and surrounded by rose diamonds, containing respectively eighty-five, eighty-six, eighty-six, and eighty-seven rose diamonds.

From the Maltese crosses issue four imperial arches composed of oak leaves and acorns; the leaves containing seven hundred and twenty-eight rose, table, and brilliant diamonds; thirty-two pearls forming the acorns, set in cups containing fifty-four rose diamonds and one table diamond. The total number of diamonds in the arches and acorns is one hundred and eight brilliant, one hundred and sixteen table, and five hundred and fifty-nine rose diamonds.

From the upper part of the arches are suspended four large pendant pear-shaped pearls, with rose diamond caps, containing twelve rose diamonds, and stems containing twenty-four very small rose diamonds. Above the arch stands the mound, containing in the lower hemisphere three hundred and four brilliants, and in the upper two hundred and forty-four brilliants; the zone and arc being composed of thirty-three rose diamonds. The cross on the summit has a rose-cut sapphire in the centre, surrounded by four large brilliants, and one hundred and eight smaller brilliants.

Summary of Jewels comprised in the Crown.

1	Large ruby irregularly polished.
1	Large broad-spread sapphire.
16	Sapphires.
11	Emeralds.
4	Rubies.
1363	Brilliant diamonds.
1273	Rose diamonds.
147	Table diamonds.
4	Drop-shaped pearls.
273	Pearls.

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THE IMPERIAL STATE CROWN OF HER MAJESTY QUEEN VICTORIA.

FRONT VIEW.

BACK VIEW.

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TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

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"THE LIBER ALBUS,"

AND OTHER RECORDS OF THE CORPORATION OF LONDON, WITH ILLUSTRATIONS DERIVED FROM THEM OF METROPOLITAN LIFE IN THE THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH CENTURIES.

BY THE REV. THOMAS HUGO, M.A., F.S.A., ETC.

[Read in the Chamber at Guildhall, June 14, 1859.]

THE Record-room of the Corporation of London possesses a collection of Archives, with which, for antiquity and completeness, that of no other city in the world will bear any comparison. From upwards of seven hundred years ago down to the present time it has received and preserved documents of almost every imaginable variety. Under nearly every head to which ancient instruments may be referred, it possesses most ample and precious stores; and there is scarcely a phase of our country's history—political, ecclesiastical, legal, military, or social—which may not here meet with illustration and elucidation.

Strange, nevertheless, it is, and true as strange, that very few persons are aware of the existence of these treasures; and that still fewer can read them, or know ought of the information which they could convey. Even professed scholars, to whom the usages of classical ages and localities are familiar, are singularly ignorant of the manners of their forefathers for many centuries previous to their own. The habits and opinions of the ancient residents in Athens and Rome have charms for, and engross the interest of, many to whom those of their own immediate progenitors are objects of no concern. There are many persons, however, who would gladly possess some information on these subjects, for the time is happily past when researches into mediæval literature elicited the disparaging remarks of pseudo-religious and fanatical critics; but not a few even of these suffer themselves to be appalled by the magnitude of the task, and regard as insurmountable the difficulties which besiege the entrance to the study—the language by which the knowledge is imparted, and the garb in which it is presented

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to the eye. The aspect of a single page of an ancient manuscript record, composed in mediæval Latin, and appearing to the uninstructed eye little more intelligible than a tablet covered with Egyptian hieroglyphics, will in some measure explain this unhappy, but, it must be admitted, unworthy ignorance.

On many accounts, therefore, I cannot doubt that, to a Society like the present, some information in respect of the City Records will be very acceptable. To every archæological student I hardly need say that they have claims upon a degree of attention superior to that which most other subjects deserve from us. And I may truly add, that the more we devote that measure to them, the more instructive and interesting we shall find them to be.

Among the most important of the City archives are various early Registers or Letter Books; Liber de Antiquis Legibus, a Latin Chronicle of City History, from A.D. 1178 to 1274;* Assisa Panis, from 1284; Liber Memorandorum, 1298; Liber Horn, consisting of a number of miscellaneous records, dated 1311; Liber Custumarum, a similar collection, of nearly the same period; Liber Albus, 1419; Journals and Repertories of the Courts of Aldermen and Common Council, from A.D. 1417 to the present time; Liber Legum, a collection of laws, from A.D. 1342 to 1590; and Liber Dunthorn, a miscellaneous collection in Latin, French, and English, made between A.D 1461 and 1490.

It is specially to the "Liber Albus" that I am about to draw attention. And I select this Record for several reasons. Among others, on account of its preciousness in the eyes of every generation of civic authorities—"a grand repertory," as it is, "of the archives of the City;" of the insight which it affords into the customs and usages of ancient London life during the period to which it relates; and also on account of the greater facility with which most readers are now enabled to acquire at their leisure a knowledge of its contents, from its having been lately selected for publication under the direction of the Master of the Rolls, and well and carefully edited by Mr. H. T. Riley, barrister-at-law, to whom I am happy to confess my obligations, in which all must unite who feel an interest in these and similar subjects.

* Already published by the Camden Society.

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The "Liber Albus" is in mediæval Latin and old French, and was written, as appears by the preface, in the year 1419, being finished in the November of that year, the civic reign, be it not forgotten, of the famous Sir Richard Whittington. It was compiled under the superintendence of John Carpenter, then town-clerk, of whom Mr. Brewer has furnished us with an interesting memoir. It is a folio volume, in a rich leather binding, with bosses, which may be of the latter part of the sixteenth or the commencement of the following century. Although the numbering of the pages from 1 to 352, is incorrect, no part of the volume is wanting.

In contrast with the name by which it was at first honourably distinguished, and which is again once more restored to it, it is usually called "Liber Niger," from the defiling treatment which it has undergone from some thousands of greasy hands. This fact is bewailed by a classical scribe of the sixteenth century, in some lines on the fly-leaf at the commencement of the volume, where the "unctuous thumbs" of successive generations of City dignitaries are stated to have turned the pristine whiteness of the leaves into the contrary colour, and an urgent entreaty is added to copy the contents of the peerless pages while they yet retain the power of imparting their information.

In agreement with the advice thus given, a transcript was made by Robert Smith, Comptroller, in 1582, which still exists among the Corporation Records, though hardly worthy of a place there from its very indifferent execution.

The period to which the Liber Albus refers dates from the early years of the reign of the first Edward to the middle of that of Richard II., from 1285 to 1385, or about the space of a century —a period not sufficiently protracted to witness many changes in the regulations, customs, and usages of those slowly-advancing times. Of the faithfulness of the picture there cannot, from the nature of the testimony, be so much as the shadow of a doubt.

It is divided into four books, the first and third of which are subdivided into several parts. The three first books treat of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs, wager of law, Inquisitiones *post mortem*, the charters granted by various sovereigns, customs, ob-

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servances of various trades (millers, brewers, butchers, fishmongers, &c.), weights and measures, laws relating to the construction of houses, party-walls, to landlord and tenant, the conservancy of the Thames, and a multitude of other topics. The fourth book is a very valuable and interesting abstract or calendar of the then existing books and rolls in the Corporation archives. The whole is a vast magazine of information on almost every topic connected with the London of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

As the preface of this venerable record very clearly as well as briefly explains the intent of the work and the arrangement of its several parts, I shall need no apology for giving it to you in a literal English dress. It is as follows:—

"Forasmuch as the instability of human memory and the shortness of life allow us not to possess certain knowledge in respect of matters of each several kind which deserve to be remembered, even if those matters be committed to writing, especially if so committed in an irregular and confused manner, and still more in respect of matters which are not committed to writing; and since, by reason of the frequent pestilences, all the aged, more expert, and discreet rulers of the Royal City of London being removed as it were together, the younger men succeeding them in the government of the City are on various occasions, and especially through the want of written directions, frequently in doubt; from which circumstance, in the administration of justice there is constant controversy and perplexity among them, it hath seemed necessary from a long while past, as well to the higher as to the lower residents in the said City, that a certain volume, which, from containing therein the laws of the City should be called a Repertory, should, from notable memoranda both in the books and rolls, and also in the charters of the said City, now lying without arrangement and scattered hither and thither, be brought together in one compilation. And because the said purpose (why we know not, save by reason of the great labour which such a work would involve,) hath not been up to this date put into execution, in the time of the mayoralty of the noble man Richard Whityngton, mayor of the said City, that is to say, in the fourteen hundred and nineteenth

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year of the Incarnation of our Lord, the seventh of the reign of King Henry the Fifth after the Conquest, in the month of November, a volume of this kind is, by the favour of God, compiled, containing in itself both praiseworthy observances, not written, customary, and approved in the said City, so that oblivion may not come in time to wipe them out of memory; and sundry notable memoranda, written in the manner aforesaid, without collection and without arrangement: in order that, by the knowledge of them, both the persons in higher and those in lower stations in the said City may know more safely, for the time to come, what course of procedure is proper in rare and unusual cases, &c.

"And in order that the requirement of the readers may with greater ease be discovered in this book, the present volume is divided into four books, and each book into certain parts by their own articles and headings; which, by means of different tables and calendars placed at the commencement of the aforesaid books, will more clearly appear, &c. And first, the calendar or heading-table of the first book, which is divided into two parts, forthwith conspicuously followeth.

"A preface is prefixed, in which is contained the reason why this book hath been compiled, &c.

"It contains the division of the whole work into books, of the books into parts, of the parts into headings and articles, &c."

The work then proceeds in regular order.

As our object at these meetings is to popularise archæology, so far, at least, as that object can be attained without the omission of the necessary scientific details, the absence of which, I hardly need add, would reduce that which should be learned investigation to the level of mere child's play, I am unwilling to offer you what might be considered as a dull essay on the peculiarities of metropolitan usage in the thirteenth century, as contained in the record, and would far rather present you with the same amount of information conveyed in a form which to many of my audience would be more attractive. I consider that we who desire to instruct our age in the habits and modes of thought of their forefathers, are quite justified, to say the least, in departing from that dry routine in which antiquaries have so often appeared to delight, and in endeavouring to invest our

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fascinating study with the garb which it most eminently deserves. The subject in either case is the same, but the mode in which it is presented to the student is widely different. And the mode in which a subject is presented is, as all good teachers know, a matter of infinite importance.

In the present case, the subject is London life and London usages in the reigns of Edwards I., II., and III. Instead of presenting these details under separate heads, I will endeavour to weave them into a consecutive narrative. I will imagine a stranger coming to town, living at an inn for a day or two, walking about on his various avocations, and, when he sees anything that strikes him, making a note of it.

Our friend has entered the City through "Bisshoppesgate," kept in repair by a composition with the Hanse Towns,* but supplied with hinges by the Bishop of London,† and has taken up his quarters in a hostel situated on the banks of the Thames, from the windows of which he can inhale the sweet breezes, and watch the waterfowl which disported themselves in that then pellucid stream! His host was neither Portuguese nor German,‡ but a freeman of the city, and well known to the authorities.§ He has been reminded, we will suppose, of that singular enactment, the exact parallel of the old law of frank-pledge, the revival of which would be likely to cause no small amount of consternation among innkeepers of these degenerate days, namely, that the host was held responsible to the magistrates for any ill-doings of which his guest might be guilty.‖ Or it may be as well, perhaps, that we suppose him ignorant of this agreeable state of things, and that we thus give him all the grace of voluntary good behaviour. Whether, however, this be so or not, our stranger has been made to feel that he is lying under evil suspi-

* f. 247. † f. 282. ‡ f. 249.

§ I am unwilling to overload the feet of my pages with references to the original MS. I have accordingly selected a few of the most important only out of the large number which I had originally made. These, however, will no doubt be found abundantly sufficient for all practical purposes; and the Record itself can, by the favour of the authorities, be easily examined by any who desire to make themselves more fully acquainted with the exact situation of the statements given in the text.

‖ f. 213.

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cion of being in the metropolis for no good, and that, upon the slightest breach of the peace, punishment is a certain consequence. The host has at least been sufficiently candid with his guest to inform him that he can remain but one day and one night without special permission from the authorities*; that he must leave his arms behind him when indulging in a walk along the streets, that severe penalties will be the result of drawing a sword or of too freely using his fists within the City boundaries†; that no visor nor mask may be worn; that how much soever he may be oppressed with the heat he must not bathe in the Tower fosse under penalty of death; that by no means is any weapon to accompany him after the ringing of the curfew, and that, in short, early hours are absolutely indispensable. For the night's lodging his charge is one penny. It was probably added that there is no inducement to remain in the streets after the curfew has pealed forth its authoritative clang.‡ All wine taverns, he says, are closed at the same hour, and suspicious characters of all kinds are subjected to every species of indignity to force them to keep at home.§

His bread and ale have been sent for from the bakers and brewers, as the hosteller is forbidden to make and sell them to his guest.‖ He might have had "demeine," or lord's bread, "fraunceis," or french bread, and "pouffe," or "puffe."¶ It is stamped with the baker's seal; the loaves are either two or four a penny, and, we will hope, of good quality.** This was not the case at all times. Sometimes the members of the white fraternity made their loaves fine without and coarse within; a trick that reminds us of certain wooden "nutmegs" of immortal memory. On another occasion, a baker was so far lost to a sense of propriety as to insert a piece of iron in his bread to increase its weight, and had the pleasure of standing in the pillory as a reward of his meritorious exertions for the common weal.

But our countryman is now in the street. The footpath on which he walks is about seven feet in breadth in the wider thoroughfares. He has hardly gone a dozen yards, before he

* ff. 199 b., 213. † f. 224. ‡ ff. 223, 224. § f. 201.
‖ f. 216 b. ¶ f. 215. ** f. 215 b.

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passes under a long pole projecting from a house, supporting a bush or a bunch of leaves; and declaring thereby that good wine may be drunk on those premises. An unhappy horseman has just knocked his head against a similar pole a few doors off, the frequent occurrence of which interesting fact will presently cause a stringent enactment against their projection beyond the line of the footway.* The houses themselves next claim his attention. Most of them are of one story only; the "solar," or upper room, being furnished with a gable, faced with plaster, and ordinarily whitewashed. The ground-floor rooms are usually from eight to nine feet high, over which the first-floor projects. Some few of the houses have two or even three stories; but these are not unfrequently in the possession of other parties than the citizens who occupy the ground and first-floors, and are entered by stairs constructed on the outside. The houses are for the most part roofed with tiles, since the thatched roofs contributed so fearfully to the conflagration in the reign of King Stephen† as to bring that material into disrepute and disuse. The roofs run up to a point, with the gables towards the street. Each house is divided by party walls, some of which are as much as three feet thick and sixteen high.‡ A nuisance at this point provokes his ire, and one, I regret to say, by no means confined to the period of our traveller,—a yawning abyss, leading, by means of a steep flight of steps, to a capacious undercroft. The hoarding which surrounds this § forces him into the roadway, and when there, into a more close contact with one of the privileged pigs of the Renter of St. Anthony's Hospital—whose swine, as belonging to the patron saint of that animal, were permitted to roam whereso-ever they would—than could be at all agreeable to any gentleman taking his morning stroll.

Shops are now on all sides of him. They consist merely of open rooms, and windows without partitions and shutters. Their tenants are required to keep them, and the spaces immediately before them, unexceptionably clean, and on no account to place any filth before the doors or windows of their neighbours.

* f. 213b. † f. 212. ‡ f. 211.
§ f. 244b.

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No one may throw water out of his chamber windows under a heavy penalty; indeed far greater care is taken of sanitary matters than we may suppose, or give those times credit for. The Rakers, who were the scavengers of later ages, have been actively employed in removing all refuse to places without the walls,* as none is permitted to remain within the City. He now enters a market. It is that, probably, of Chepe or Cornhill, where there is abundance of bread and cheese, poultry, vegetables, and fruit; or of the wool mart on the space by St. Mary Woolchurch; or before the convent of Friars Minors at Newgate; or by the Graschirche; or, if the purchaser need flesh or fish, then of "Stokkes" market, near the present Mansion House; or of St. Nicholas Shambles, on the site of the present Newgate Market. Carts with wood and charcoal for sale he can observe at Smithfield and on Cornhill, and sea-coal at Billingsgate. Several of these localities were, during this period, roughly paved, and on the pavements the traders congregated and exposed their wares for sale.

As he walks along, he indulges himself with a few purchases. He is taken with the pattern of a pair of spurs, and gives the enormous sum of 12*d.*, beyond which price none may be sold. He eats a pie, for which he pays one halfpenny. Ale may also be bought at three farthings or a penny per gallon. As he passes the Stocks Market, he sees as fine a display of fish as any that has since made the vendors of that article famous. It is the ordinary food of the lower orders, and the fast-days of the Church made its consumption general among all classes. No boiled whelks, however, are allowed to be carried about for sale.† Almost every kind of freshwater-fish has been brought either from the Thames or its tributaries; and of sea-fish the supply is ample. Not one shrimp, crab, or lobster, however, does he notice; the Londoners have yet to learn the existence of these delicacies. He is asked 6*d.* for a cod, 1½*d.* for a stock-fish, and could have bought a thousand herrings for 6*s.* Then he goes to the great cattle-market in Smithfield. He might purchase an ox for 13*s.* 4*d.*, a cow for 10*s.*, a best pig for 4*s.*, and a best sheep for 2*s.* There are more pigs than any other animals, and the same is a peculiarity of the meat-market. Londoners were then much addicted to pork and bacon! One regu-

* f. 213. † f. 221.

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lation of the period deserves special mention. St. Nicholas's butchers were positively forbidden to transport the filth and offal of their business to the Thames; and it was imperatively enacted that no large cattle should be slaughtered within the walls of the City. The next market which he visits is that for poultry, on the west side of St. Michael, Cornhill, or on the pavement at Newgate, before the convent of the Friars Minors. The lords and servants of the King have already completed their purchases, and he, one of the smaller fry, may now select his dinner. A goose will cost him 6*d.*, a hen, 6*d.*; a snipe and a woodcock—hear this, ye lovers of gentle cheer—the former 1*d.*, the latter, 3*d.*; a partridge, 4*d.*; a chicken, 2*d.*, a teal, 2*d.*, a pheasant, 12*d.*; a bittern, 18*d.*; four larks, 1*d.*; and a dozen pigeons, 8*d.** So far as the record informs us, our friend could see no English fruits, save apples, pears, and walnuts. Then, also, potatoes were unknown, and asparagus had yet to be turned to use. He might, indeed, have nicely discriminated between the allied flavours of onions, leeks, and garlick, and with this gustatory effort he must perforce have contented himself! Strange to say, he does not notice any milk for sale. There was, however, another delicacy in which he might have indulged—the luxury of butter. But when I am constrained to add that it was sold by liquid measure, his *penchant* would not appear to have derived from the dainty a very superlative gratification!

We should do injustice, however, to our friend's good taste if we thought that he could leave the metropolis without paying a visit to his tailor. That personage and his art were of at least equal importance to the rank which they hold in our present estimation. Both the gentlemen and the ladies were indebted for their attire to the skill of this artificer; and, truth to say, he seems by his elaborate constructions to have done his best to please them. Our friend has bought what his wife will call a perfectly lovely robe, garnished with silk, the making whereof has cost 18*d.*; and has also invested 2*s.* 6*d.* in a long dress, similarly garnished, for that lady at home.† Motives of economy, which, it would seem, had even then some few devotees, have induced him to purchase in addition, at the cost of 4*d.* "a pair of sleeves *for changing*."

* f. 242. † f. 346 b.

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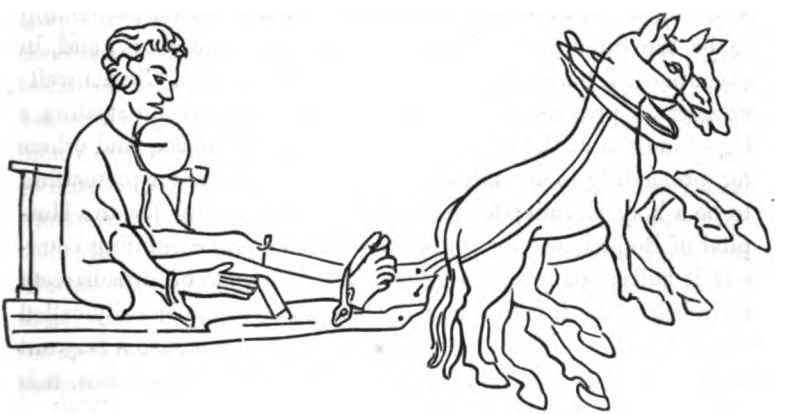
A new coat, as every body knows, necessitates the addition of sundry other novelties. Thus, ere he returns, a finely embroidered pair of boots of cordwain have stood him in 3*s.* 6*d.* and a pair of gloves of the best sheepskin in 2*d.* I must not take you further into the inventory of his wardrobe, except simply to say that, what, with his new hose, his embroidered girdle, and ornamented pouch or purse, his day's visit to London will be very conspicuously and gloriously notified to his country neighbours at home.

But our gentleman's walk is not quite concluded. He is very much tired with his sight-seeing and marketing, but all of a sudden an object arrests him, which, if it has not special charms, is one which he will not soon forget. He is passing through Chepe, and, amid a warm volley of jokes, an unfortunate baker is going on a journey with which his own will has not overmuch to do. He has been convicted of selling bread of undue weight and quality, and



PUNISHMENT OF A FRAUDULENT BAKER.*

this is the result. There he is, drawn on a hurdle, through the very dirtiest parts of the street, with his hands tied down by his side, and, by way of adding insult to injury, the loaf that is the cause of all his woe is hanging from his neck! He is on his way to

* I am indebted to my friend F. Woodthorpe, Esq. Town Clerk, for ready and courteous permission to make a tracing of the pen-and-ink drawing in the original MS. (Assisa Panis, 12 Edw. I. 1284), of which the accompanying woodcut is an exact fac-simile.

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the pillory, where he will have the satisfaction of standing for a not very agreeable hour.* His oven has been pulled down, and he will never be permitted to exercise his craft again within the limits of the City. An apprentice comes next, who has refused to swear to obey his master.† Another victim follows, whose offence consisted in selling oats, good at the top and bad below; while proclamation, or what is called a good hue-and-cry,‡ is made not only of these, but of sundry other delinquents, by whom unsound articles, rotten meat, poultry, herrings, "false" breeches, girdles, gloves, caps, &c., have been attempted to be imposed on unwary customers.§

He is considerably astonished, and not a little edified, by accounts which he receives of other offenders, whose evil deeds have made them notorious. They must have been shrewd knaves some of them. One was adjudged to the pillory for pretending to be a Sheriff's serjeant, and meeting the bakers of Stratford and arresting them, in order to extort a fine; another for pretending to be the Summoner of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and, in execution of his office, summoning the Prioress of Clerkenwell; another for pretending to be a physician; another for stealing a leg of mutton at the Flesh-shambles of St. Nicholas; and others for pretending to be an officer of the Marshelsea; for pretending to be a holy Hermit; for pretending to be begging for the Hospital of Bethlehem; for counterfeiting seals and exhibiting counterfeit bulls; for rebellion against the Alderman of Broadstreet; for rebellion against the Sheriffs, who are complimentarily called "the eyes of the Mayor;"‖ for opprobrious language to a Serjeant in the presence of the Mayor; for cursing the Mayor, but, it is added, in his worship's absence; for insulting words to William Wotton, the Alderman of Dowgate; for telling lies about Mr. Recorder; and for insults, lies, and scandal about Mr. Alderman Falconer.¶ The punishment for scandal varied in some measure from that for other offences. The pillory was, of course, a part of it, but the culprit was subjected to a previous imprisonment of a year and a day; and then, if he had not endured a similar in-

* f. 199. † f. 291 b. ‡ f. 202.
§ ff. 290, 293 b. ‖ f. 11. ¶ ff. 290, 290 b, 291.

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fliction at the end of every quarter, he was to stand in the pillory with a whetstone hanging from his neck—a sly allusion to the sharpening process which the scandal-monger's tongue had evidently undergone.

He is just at the hostel from whence he started, when he thinks that he may as well get a look at the "Tun." This he knows is in Cornhill, and is the prison of City offenders in general: especially all disturbers of the peace, either by day or by night, there find a safe if not a pleasant custody. As he passes he is witness of the entrance of some of these. Among them are conspicuous several women, with their hair cropped close, and clad in the dress (but especially not minever nor other furs, nor silk,*) which declares their shame, and which they are compelled to wear by several repeated enactments; and, together with them, a man, in whose house they have been harboured; his hair and beard closely shaven, with the exception of a noticeable and ridiculous fringe on his head of two inches in breadth. Escorting this rout there is a company of musicians, "mynstralx,†" in order, perhaps, to call attention to their captives, and to make the neighbourhood aware of their presence by drawing out the horrors from instruments on which they have *not* learned to play!

Thus our friend has walked from place to place amid the many-coloured groups of London, and yet all along he has endured nothing that, so far as legislative enactments could provide against it, was calculated to annoy or disgust him. No dealers have forced their wares upon him, for a reference to authority would have resulted in the loss of the articles so obtruded. No thieves have picked his pocket, whom constables could have prevented and have not cared to do so. No filth has greeted him from the windows. No lepers have been suffered to meet him or to beg in the streets.‡ Not so much as a dog has snarled at him, except one or two at the outside; and those, he gratefully remembers, were "*chiens gentilx*," genteel dogs, beasts that belonged, not to the mob, but to the great lords of the land! Our country friend turns into his hostelry with a due sense of the greatness of the scene in which he has been moving, of the few drawbacks and

* f. 203. † f. 240. ‡ f. 200 b.

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many and real comforts of London life—of the security and abundance on every side; in short, of the manifold excellences of his country's metropolis—qualities as conspicuous in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, if comparison be made with provincial districts during the same period, as they are in our own age.

Such, briefly and unworthily described, was a day in London —without, however, the ecclesiastical element, which gave all things a sacred and solemn glory of its own—during the reigns of the first three Edwards; and such is the matchless *Liber Albus* by whose precious pages the record has been transmitted.

THOMAS HUGO.

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CHURCH OF ST. MARY ALDERMARY, BOW LANE.

BY JOHN WHICHCORD, ESQ. F.S.A.

[Read at the Meeting at Guildhall, June 14, 1859.]

It is difficult, in contemplating the City of London as we now see it, with the bustle of its crowded thoroughfares, with its buildings, public and private, having the exclusive aspect of business and commercial use, to picture the same city before the Reformation, when, amidst streams and gardens, rose the numberless spires and pinnacled towers of the churches and monastic establishments as a very principal feature associated with the high-pitched roofs and the carved gables of the half-timbered houses. To form an idea of London at that period, we must let our imagination fly to one of our least altered cathedral towns, omit from our view all the modern houses with their plate-glass shop-fronts, and the smooth stone paving of the streets, imagine such a town, infinitely larger, and confined, as it were, within walls, with ecclesiastical buildings far more numerous over a given space, and we shall then form some idea of what must have been the picturesque character of this modern Babylon in its mediæval dress.

Previously to the Reformation, we read that the churches and monastic establishments in London occupied two-thirds of the area within the walls; and that the average extent of a parish did not exceed three acres. It seemed, indeed, to be consistent with our forefathers' notions of piety to erect a church for each separate guild, to have a place set apart for worship for the little society in which each man moved, and to regard it as a loved object upon which to lavish his superfluous wealth.

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Interesting, as retaining some small amount of these old associations, is the church of St. Mary Aldermary, although, unhappily, little of its ancient character remains in the present structure; but, inasmuch as it is supposed to be reproduced by the hand of one of the greatest architects, it is a subject well worthy of attention to consider in what way this great mind has addressed itself to the task imposed.

The Church of St. Mary Aldermary is situated in Cordwainers' Ward, and on the south side of Budge Row. The ancient name, "Aldermarie," has given rise to some speculation. Stowe says, "Because the same was very old, and elder than any other church of St. Mary in the City." Harrison, in his History of London, 1776, says, "It is a rectory founded before the Conquest, and one of the peculiars belonging to the Archbishop of Canterbury."

With the known antiquity of the neighbouring church of St. Mary de Arcubus, or Bow, the opinion of the above authorities should be accepted with some caution. Of this "elder" church, however, no remains are now visible, and the *foundation* of the "new and very faire church" referred to by Stowe as having been "laid of late yeres" must have been very literally the truth.

The second church was commenced about the year 1510, by Sir Henry Kebyll, grocer, who was Lord Mayor in 1511, and who left it unfinished at his death in 1518. Such is the statement distinctly made in a set of verses, written in 1570, and suspended over Sir Henry Kebyll's grave, "on the outside of the folding tables which hang in the upper end of the Chauncell," by way of substitute for his monument and epitaph, which had then been destroyed.

These verses, which are characteristic of the period and minutely bear upon the subject, are as follows:—

"Heere is fixt the Epitaph of Sir Henry Kebyll, Knight,
Who was sometime of London Maior, a famous worthy wight,
Which did this Aldermarie Church erect and set upright.

Thogh death preuaile with mortal wights and hasten euery day,
Yet Vertue ouerlies the grave, her fame doth not decay;

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As memories doe shew reuiu'd, of one that was aliue,
Who being dead, of vertuous fame none should seek to depriue;
Which so in life deseru'd renowne, for facts of his to see,
That may encourage other now of like good minde to be.
Sir Henry Keeble, Knight, Lord Maior of London, here he sate,
Of Grocers' worthy Companie, the chiefest in his state,
Which in this City grew to wealth, and unto worship came,
When Henry raign'd, who was the seventh of that redoubted name.
But he to honor did atchieu the second golden yeere
Of Henries raigne, so called the 8, and made his fact appeare
When he this Aldermary Church gan build with great expence,
Twice 30 yeeres agon no doubt, counting the time from hence.
Which work began the yere of Christ well known of Christian men
One thousand and five hundred just, if you will add but ten.
But lo, when man purposeth most God doth dispose the best,
And so before this work was done God cald this Knight to rest.
This Church then not yet fully built, he died about the yeere,
When Ill May Day first took his name, which is down fixed here, 1516.
Whose works became a sepulcher, to shroud him in that case,
God took his soule, but corps of his was laid about this place.
Who when he dyed of this his work so mindful still he was,
That he bequeath'd one thousand pounds to haue it brought to passe,
The execution of whose gift, or where the fault should be,
The work as yet unfinished shall shew you all for me,
Which Church stands there, if any please to finish up the same,
As he hath well begun, no doubt, and to his endless fame,
They shall not onley well bestow their talent in this life,
But after death, when bones be rot, their fame shall be most rife,
With thankful praise and good report of our parochians here,
Which have of right Sir Henries fame afresh renewed this yeere.
God move the minds of wealthy men their works so to bestow,
As he hath done, that, though they dye, their vertuous fame may flow.

Inclita perpetuo durabit tempore virtus,
Et floret fato non violanda truci.

This appeal, or sentiments such as it describes, appears to have had its effect after the lapse of another half-century: for the edition of Stowe in 1633 relates that, "First, Mr. William Rodoway, one born and buried in this parish, though from his youth to his end he lived in another, viz. Michael Bassishaw, at the time of his death, which was in the year of our Lord 1626, gave, towards the re-building of the steeple of this church, then greatly decayed and perished, the sum of 200*l.*; and in the same

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year died in this parish one Mr. Richard Pierson, who, towards the better and more beautiful building of this steeple, gave 200 marks, with this condition, that the steeple thus to be built should follow its ancient pattern, and go forward and be finished according to the foundation of it laid one hundred and twenty years since by the founder of this Church, Sir Henry Keeble; which within three years after was so finished, the cost of it amounting to 1,000*l.*, all which, except the gifts of those two worthy benefactors, was raised by the parish."

In the mean time, as Stowe relates, the grave and monument of Sir Henry Kebyll had met with ungrateful injury. It would seem that, as the church was unfinished, no monument was erected for him for some years; but in 1534 his son-in-law, William Blount, Lord Mountjoy, desired by his will a stone to be laid over him, "for that he had been a special benefactor to the building of Aldermary Church, to the value of 2,000*l.* and above."

In 1545 Charles Blount, fifth Lord Mountjoy (son of the former), was also buried here, who "made or glazed the east window, as appeareth by his arms;" and his younger son, William, seventh Lord Mountjoy, was here buried in 1594.

But in the disorders which took place after the Reformation, when extraordinary liberties were taken with the spoliated churches, Kebyll's bones "were unkindly cast out, and his monument pulled down," in favour of the corpse of Sir William Laxton (Lord Mayor in 1545), who died in 1556; and in 1583 the body of Sir Thomas Lodge, son-in-law of Sir William Laxton (and Lord Mayor in 1563), was placed in the same vault.

In 1632 the church was "repaired, richly and very worthily beautified, at the cost and charge of the parish."*

It was consumed by the Great Fire of 1666, but almost immediately rebuilt by the munificence of Henry Rogers, Esq., "affected by the almost irreparable loss of religious edifices, and actuated by sincere motives of piety," who gave 5,000*l.* towards rebuilding it on the model of the former one. The following inscription over the west door records this:—

* Stow's Survey, edit. 1633, p. 847.

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ÆDES HÆC DEO O. M. JAM OLIM SACRA,
QUÆ COMMUNI URBIS INCENDIO IN CINERES REDACTA,
IMPENSIS UNA MANU SED LARGA & SANCTISSIME PRODIGA,
INTEGRIS QUINQUE LIBRARUM MILLIBUS
SURREXIT DENUO MULTO MAGNIFICENTIOR,
TAM PIAM BENEFICENTIAM HENRICO ROGERS ARMIGERO,
EDVARDI ROGERS DE CANINGTON MILITIS,
ET SUB MARIANA PERSECUTIONE CHRISTO MILITANTIS,
PRONEPOTI, ET PIETATIS ETIAM HÆREDI,
HONESTA HAC ET INGENUA FRONTE PALAM FATETUR.
A.D. MDCLXXXI.

Memoria Justi in Benedictione.

The edifice which we see now is, excepting the tower, the restoration of Sir Christopher Wren, built upon the ancient model as directed by Sir Henry Kebyll. The lower part of the tower is evidently of the date of Kebyll's work; as shown by the old four-centre-headed door, leading from the tower into the staircase turret, and also by the Caen stone of which this part of the tower is built, which has indications of fire upon its surface.

The upper portion of the tower was rebuilt in 1711; the intermediate portion is, I think, the work of 1632, and if that is admitted it is curious, as an example of construction at that period, in an older style than that prevalent and in fashion at the time. The semi-Elizabethan character of the detail of the strings and ornamentation seems to confirm this conclusion, as they are just such as might be looked for in Gothic work in the time of Charles I.

In dealing with the restoration of the Church, Wren must have not only followed the style of the burned edifice, but in part employed the old material. On examining the tracery of the window-heads on the south side, I find they are worked in Caen stone; and from the freedom of the lines of the tracery, and the absence of anything Wren-like even in the minutest details, I believe these heads to have been part of the Perpendicular church of 1510. With this exception the remainder of the

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church bears the stamp of Sir Christopher's handiwork; and, while I direct your attention to points which we, in this age of mediæval revival, know to be crude and incorrect, and inconsistent with the spirit of Gothic architecture, we must take into consideration the time at which this labour was undertaken, and under what circumstances it was performed, and I think we shall arrive at the conclusion that the genius of the architect is not diminished in his treatment of a subject so new and difficult, and so discordant with his style and practice.

The time, too, at which this task was imposed upon him,—immediately after the Great Fire,—when such an enormous amount of work was at once thrown upon his hands, when, in addition to the general laying out of a great city, commissions for the re-edification of palaces, public buildings, as well as the bulk of the fifty churches upon which his talent was employed, were pressing upon his attention;—when, also, it was not only the pencil of the artist and the calculations of the mathematician that were required of him, but oftentimes an application of construction to meet pecuniary deficiency, and consultation with guilds and bodies of citizens forming the committees of those days; and it appears that they were little more tractable than Church commissions or churchwardens of the present age.

Amidst such overwhelming occupations, the instructions to Wren to restore the Church of Saint Mary Aldermary *in its Gothic type* must have caused him a great amount of thought—a style in which he had not practised; for (with the exception of the Church of St. Alban's, Wood Street,) Wren has not elsewhere left any record of his Gothic restoration of an entire church—a style exploded in England. It is nevertheless to the credit of the great architect that he so thoroughly entered upon his task as to produce so good a restoration as we see, with so much that is in the spirit of the original, at the same time that it is so unmistakeably his own.

The church is of ample dimensions, being 100 feet long and 63 feet broad, and consists of a nave and side aisles. The east end of the church is not at right angles, and there is no chancel

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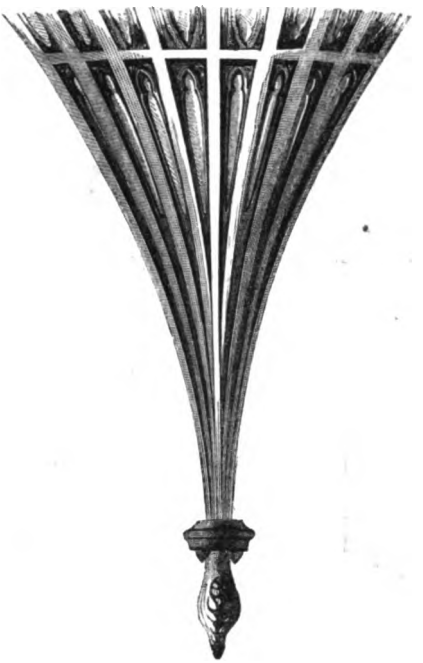
arch, which produces a very *gauche* effect towards the east end of the building. The ceiling is very singular, being an imitation of fan tracery, executed in plaster; the detail of this is most elabo-



rate, but the design is odd, and, being an imitation of stone construction, the effect is very unsatisfactory. It is probable that the old roof was of wood, and entirely destroyed in the Fire; consequently, no record of it remained as a guide in the rebuilding—as was the case with the clustered pillars, which are good and correct in form, and only mongrel in their details. I have represented on the next page several of the mouldings as they were left by Wren, and shown by the side the correct outline that such mouldings should have in a Perpendicular church.

In some of the furniture of the church, such as the pulpit and the carving of the pews, the Gothic style is not followed, and in

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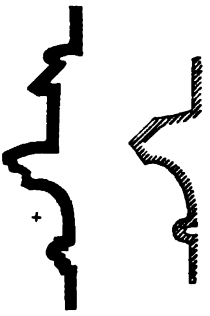
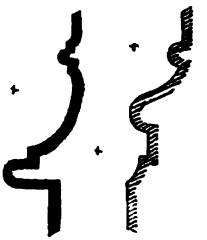
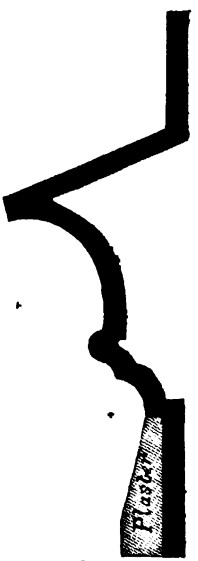


INTERIOR STRING.



BASE MOULDINGS TO PIERS.

JAUMB MOULDINGS.



EXTERNAL STRING AT LEVEL OF ROOF PLATE.

MOULDINGS TO PIERS.

*** The darker-edged mouldings are Wren's.

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these, as in the other parts where the great master's genius is left unshackled, we perceive the exquisite taste that guided him, even to the minutest details, in his own peculiar style. The Sword-holder represented in the margin is a favourable example of the careful thought which he bestowed upon his decoration. It is free and artistic in design, and exquisitely carved.

HOLDER FOR THE CITY SWORD.

The Sword-holder is almost universally found in the city churches, and more or less prominence and elaboration is given to it, as the parish is more or less subject to civic visitation, or the church more or less decorated.

The City Swords were four in number: 1. The Common Sword, borne at the Courts of Session, as well as the Courts of Aldermen and Common Council; 2. The Black Sword, used on Good Friday, all Fast days, and on the Anniversary of the Fire of London; 3. The Sunday Sword, and 4, The Pearl Sword, the two latter of which were carried on very rare occasions.

The Sword-bearer was the first of the four Esquires attached to the Household of the Lord Mayor, and his duty was analagous to that of a master of ceremonies, as he advised his Lordship upon points of precedence and etiquette upon all state occasions. He presided over the gentlemen of the household, had apartments allotted to him, and a grant of £1,500 a-year for the maintenance of his table. The office of Sword-bearer is a remnant of the baronial establishment of the city, at a time when the household of noble families was composed of the scions of great houses, and when gentlemen of rank

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and position eagerly sought offices in which they could be prominent in gallantry and politeness.

Amongst the gifts to this church, is one by Richard Chawcer (supposed by Stowe* to be father to the great Geoffrey), who gave his tenement and tavern, with the appurtenances, in the highway, at the corner of Keirion Lane. Richard Chawcer was buried here in 1348.

After the fire of 1666, the two parishes of St. Mary Aldermary and St. Thomas the Apostle were united; and, as the advowson of the latter belonged to the Cathedral Church of St. Paul's, the presentation is now made alternately by the Archbishop of Canterbury and by the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's.

It is impossible to quit such a subject as the re-edification of this church by Sir Christopher Wren,—in which we can only award a limited amount of admiration to the result he has produced in his Gothic labours, and that, too, after taking into consideration the difficulties with which he was beset, and the fashion of the time in which it was done,—without associating him in our thoughts with the more congenial employment in which his genius took such flight, and which produced, in the exquisite churches which adorn this great city, buildings constructed for the purpose of the services of the reformed religion, with an unrivalled fitness for the uses to which they are applied, and with a range of constructive and decorative beauty unsurpassed in any age or country.

* Sir N. H. Nicolas has remarked that "Chaucer's parentage is unknown, and the conjectures that have been hazarded on the subject are too vague to justify the adoption of any of them; nor is it certain that the Poet was a native of London." Life of Chaucer, 1846, pp. 10, 11. At p. 119 Sir Harris Nicolas has given an abstract of the will of Richard Chawcer, the Vintner; he had a son, named John, of the same occupation; but there is no trace of the famous Geoffrey.

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SEPULCHRAL BRASSES AT HARROW.

THE Church of Harrow has preserved a somewhat numerous series of Sepulchral Brasses, of which the following is a chronological list, with a few descriptive particulars:

c. 1370. Edmund Flambard: in armour, with pourpoint cuisses. The design embraced the figures of himself and wife, under a double canopy standing on a long stem, as if forming the head of a cross (resembling the brass of John Bloxham and John Whytton in Merton college chapel, engraved in Ingram's Memorials of Oxford, and Parker's Glossary of Architecture): height of the whole design 7 feet, of the figures 25 inches. The man's figure alone remains, with the upper part of the canopies. Both figures are engraved in the Supplement to Grose's Antiquities of England and Wales, 1787, vol. ii. Plate vi.

c. 1390. John Flambard: a fine figure, 4 feet 10 inches high; showing a slight change in armour from the preceding. Engraved in the same work, Plate vii. fig. 2. The inscription consists of the following very strange and enigmatic verses:

> Jon me do marmore Numinis ordine flam tum'lat'
> Bard q°ꝫ verbere stigis E fun'e hic tueatur.

—the two syllables of the surname being divided between the two lines.

1442. Simon Marchford, canon of Salisbury and of the King's free chapel of Windsor, and Rector of Harrow: in processional vestments, the head and inscription now wanting; about 16 inches high when complete.

c. 1450. Three-quarters figure of a priest in the dress of a Master of Arts; about 18 inches high; the inscription gone.

1480. John Byrkhede, Rector, in a splendid cope: fully described in the following pages.

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1488. George Aynesworth, in civil costume, and his three wives, Agnes, Isabella, and Johanna, with fourteen children, one of them a priest vested as a Master of Arts. The figures 18 inches high and the costume of the wives identical. (Discovered during the restoration of the church, and now fixed against the wall of the South transept.)

1574. Inscriptions to Dorothye Frankyshe: engraved on the reverse of fragments of fine Flemish work, as described in the ensuing pages.

1579. William Wightman esquire (in armour) and his wife Etheldreda: figures 2 feet 3 inches high. The figures of five children lost.

1592. John Lyon yeoman, the Founder of Harrow School, standing, in doublet and plain trunk hose, and his wife, in hat, ruff, and gown open in front: the figure of a child lost. Figures 19½ inches high. (Lithographed by Netherclift.)

c. 1600. A gentleman and his wife, well executed: 4 feet 3 inches high; inscription gone.

1603. John Sonkey gentleman and Alice his wife: figures 3 feet 1 inch high.

SEPULCHRAL brass-plates, which are found engraved on both sides, have received the not very accurate but now generally accepted name of *palimpsest*.* An interesting discovery of this kind was made on the occasion of the Society's visit to Harrow.

Two plates, bearing inscriptions in rhyme and prose, to the memory of Dorothye Frankyshe, who died in 1574, had occupied a place in the pavement of the church, doubtless from that date, until a few years since, when the edifice was restored, and then one of them, being detached, was found to be engraved on the contrary side. The other of the two remained *in situ*, though loose, until October last, when, whilst some rubbings were being taken in anticipation of the meeting of this Society, it also be-

* See the Manual of Monumental Brasses, Oxford, 1848, p. ix.; and an article by Mr. Albert Way in the Archæologia, vol. xxx. p. 121. The examples that have since been noticed are very numerous.

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came detached, and was found, like its companion, to be engraved on the under side. The small slip of brass from the chest of the female effigy had been fitted on at the end of the more modern prose legend, and bears the end of each line; it has been roughly filed, no doubt when re-set.

It is quite clear from the differing proportions of the accessory canopies, the several borders, and the inscriptions, upon these two plates, that they are portions of distinct monuments, and could not have been united in one design. It is at the same time very remarkable that in style and execution they bear a strong resemblance in many points, even to the ornaments between the words of the inscriptions, so that we might esteem them to be the productions of the same artist.

Archæologists have long been agreed that certain monumental brasses differing in several distinct peculiarities from those usually found in England, are the work of foreigners; the beautiful examples at Saint Alban's, North Mimms, Aveley, Lynn, and Newark, are well known. Out of about 4,000 Brasses remaining in England there are but a dozen which exhibit these peculiarities, and half a dozen more, less distinctly defined, may perhaps be added. Seven date between 1349 and 1396; one 1429; and the remaining four from 1510 to 1535. The inscriptions of the first eight being in Latin afford no clue to their country, except so far as may be gathered from the bold form of the letters; so that in the absence of documentary evidence the belief of their foreign origin rested upon their similarity of character to the few remaining on the Continent, and their dissimilarity to the style common here; while on the other hand the only one of English character found on the Continent is the Brass in Constance Cathedral of an English bishop* who died whilst attending the great council held there in 1416. It is known that brass was an article of import from the Netherlands, but that fact affords little or no presumption in favour of the theory. The present discovery forms a connecting link necessary to show that the supposed foreign Brasses found in England are really foreign and not English in disguise, for, while the style of

* Robert Hallum, bishop of Salisbury: engraved in the Archæologia, vol. xxx. pl. xix.

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these fragments unquestionably accords with them, the few words of legend, which one of them presents, are Flemish or Dutch.*

They run thus:

Int' *(abbrev: for* Int't *or* In het) Jaer ons heeren *(In the year of our Lord)*

On the same (or upright) fragment is engraved the figure of a man in a long gown, his face muffled up in a hood, and holding a book. This was evidently one of a series of statuettes placed in tabernacles on the left side of the effigy of the deceased. He is not a Saint, but perhaps intended for one of the ancient Doctors: and in a smaller niche below him, seated as it were at the feet of Gamaliel, is a smaller figure reading a book; his back is to the spectator, and along its whole length is extended the liripipe of his hood, as then worn.

The other (oblong) fragment is a portion of a brass 1·8 × 9 in. of equal beauty, and of exactly the same style of art. It preserves the lower part of the face and the shoulders of the lady whom the brass commemorated. Her hands are raised in prayer. Her head rests on a cushion which is supported by two angels; the cushion is tasseled at its corners, and ornamented with a very beautiful pattern of foliage, which incloses birds in circles. The annexed cut shews a very similar design occuring on the dress of one of the two wives of Robert Braunche at Lynn, which is one of the Flemish works already enumerated.

AT LYNN, A.D. 1364.

* In the Journal of the Archæological Institute, vol. iv. p. 363, is noticed the brass of John Dauntesey, 1559, at West Lavington, Wilts, which had a Dutch inscription on its reverse; and in vol. vi. p. 414, some brasses found at Westerham, Kent, also of the middle of the sixteenth century, of which the reversed sides were of Flemish work, but the inscriptions in Latin.

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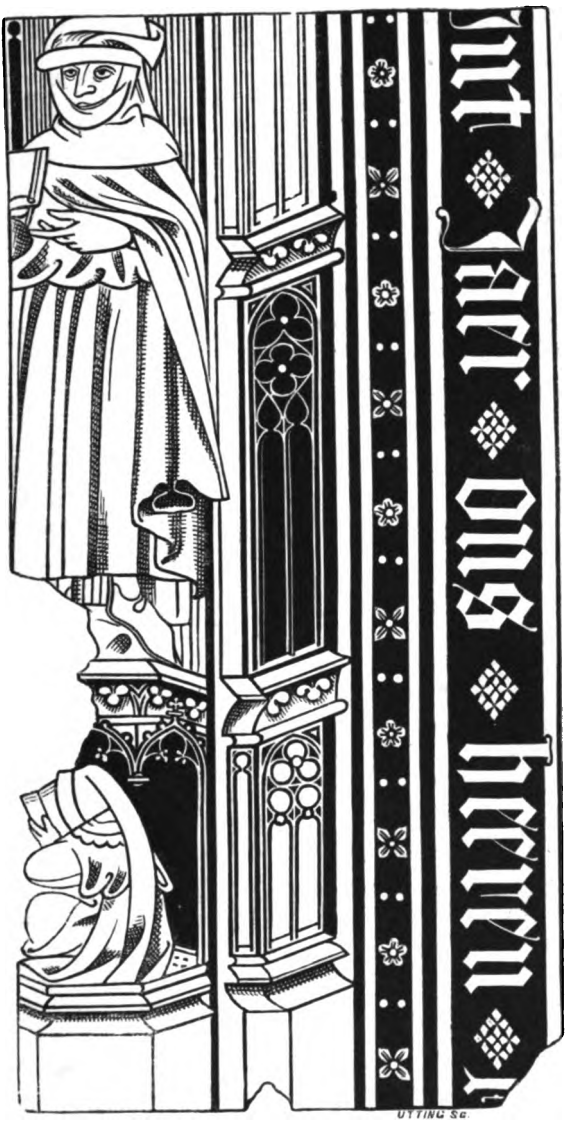

FLEMISH BRASS AT HARROW, CO. MIDDLESEX, DISCOVERED 1859.

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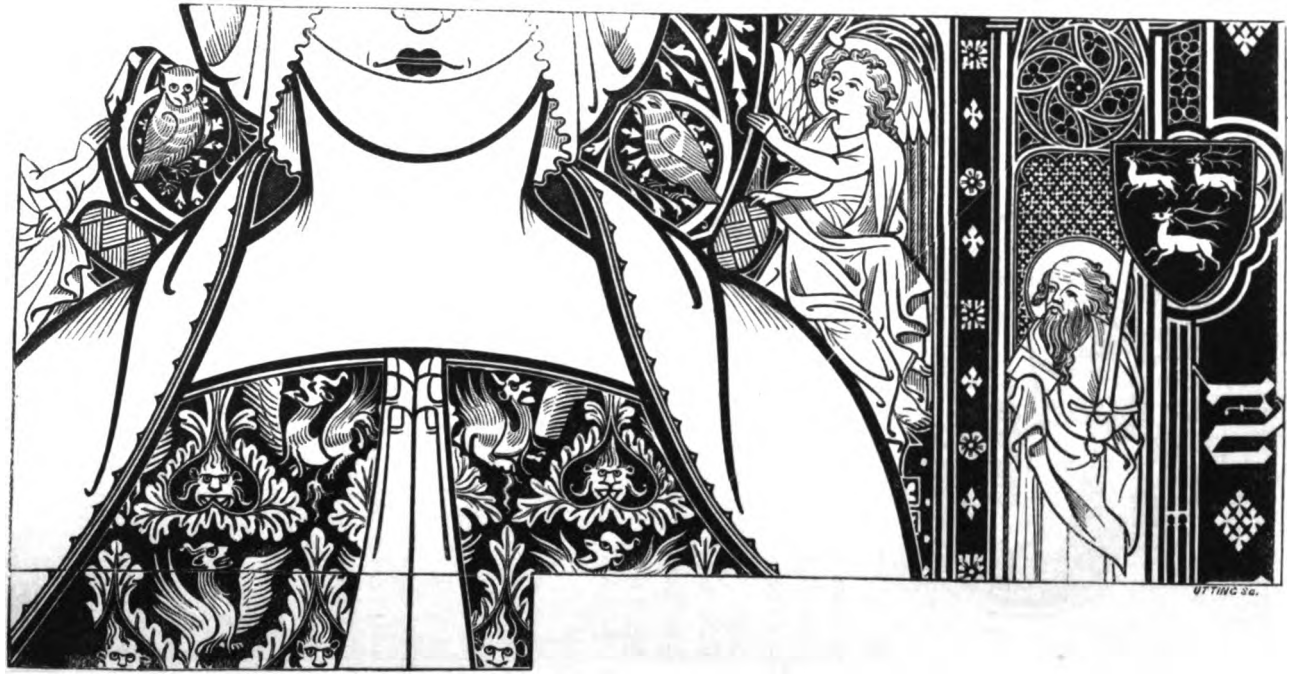

FLEMISH BRASS AT HARROW, CO. MIDDLESEX, DISCOVERED 1859.

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PORTION OF BRASS AT LUBECK, A.D. 1350.

The body dress of the Harrow figure may also be compared with the details of Brasses at Lübeck, which are here introduced, in order to show how entirely the style of these unquestionably foreign examples accords with the supposed Flemish Brasses in England, as well as with the subjects of this article. The conventional dragon with foliage is copied from the Brass of John Luneborch, A.D. 1464, in the Katerinenkirke; and the small dragon is part of the diapering of one in the cathedral, dated 1350.*

PORTION OF BRASS AT LUBECK, A.D. 1464.

But the most peculiar characteristic of the foreign style is the treatment of the mouth when represented in full face. The beau-

* This brass represents bishops Burchardus de Serken and Johannes de Mül, who respectively died A.D. 1317 and 1350. It is an unbroken surface of brass, 12 ft. long by 6 ft. wide, entirely covered with the richest work, unsurpassed in artistic design, and probably forms the most splendid specimen in existence.

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tiful head of the B.V. Mary at the close of this article (p. 284) is slightly reduced from the original, which forms part of the detail of the first mentioned Brass at Lübeck, A.D. 1464; it should be compared with the principal effigy at Harrow. Some persons have supposed that the line between the lips represents the Eucharistic Wafer; but the supposition is clearly disproved by this example; it was probably no more than one of those conventionalisms which in the middle ages held art with a tight grip.

Of the marginal rows of Saints which decorated the lady's brass the figure of Saint Paul remains, and near him is a shield of arms bearing three stags tripping. Also of the legend the two letters ꝛb. In the tracery above Saint Paul there is again a remarkable correspondence with the annexed circle, which is copied from the Lübeck brass of 1350.

It is not easy to fix the date of these remains, but they may probably be assigned to the early part of the fifteenth century. The artistic design shows them to have been executed whilst brass engraving was still in its highest development; but the style of architecture, and mode of rendering it, and also the diapering of the dress, prove them to be later than most of the foreign specimens remaining in this country, and of a period when art had been here superseded by a hard mannerism.

Some curiosity will be naturally entertained to account for the circumstance, how fragments of very splendid sepulchral memorials, which once decorated a foreign church or churches, should be converted to the commemoration of the wife of a simple English gentleman.

One peculiarity of these beautiful relics is that they are not at all worn by attrition. No careless tread has ever blunted the sharpness of their lines. One might readily imagine them to have remained unused in the workman's shop from the time when the Flemish surface was engraved until they were required at Harrow. But, as the period of a century and a half involved in such a supposition appears too great for probability, it will be more satisfactory to look to other circumstances.

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A few years before the plates were re-engraved, the Netherlands suffered, at the hands of the Reformers, a religious convulsion unparalleled even in England. Hordes of Anabaptists had diffused their doctrines throughout the country; their temper, wild enthusiasm, and reckless disregard of laws and institutions, spread with fearful rapidity, and in August 1566 the easily foreseen consequence was, that the people rushing to the churches tore down the images, and left even the buildings in a state of ruin.

Combining with these facts the evidence afforded by the plates themselves, a fair presumption is raised that the magnificent Brasses to which they originally belonged were worked and laid down, in the early part of the fifteenth century, in some cathedral or church in the Netherlands; torn away in 1566, and exported to London, where Brasses were still in great demand, and cut up and re-engraved by a London dealer.

The legend on the reverse of the female head runs thus :—

Here Dorothye Frankyshe lyeth, whos mortall' lym'es ar dead',
But to enioye im'ortall' rest, her soule to heben ys fleadd'.
Whyles lyfe dyd' last, she was a paterne of good' lyfe,
Deboute to god', good' to the poore, a chast and perfet wyfe.
For christ hys crosse she cald', agaynst the pang' of death,
Which she with mynd' (t yie beheld', untyll' her later breath.
And' so gaue up her gost, to god' which lyfe dyd lend',
Who for her good' and' worthy lyfe, gabe her a happye end'.
(*Alt*)hough y' death w'e dynt of dart hath brought her corp' asleape,
(*The etc*)rnall' god', her eternall' soule, eternallye doth kepe.

Upon the reverse of the other fragment is this legend :—

Here lyeth buryed' y' body o(*f Doroth*)ye, late wyfe of Antony Frankyshe, of waterstrotford', in the Countye of Buck. Gent' and dowghter of william Bellamy of brenden, in the parryshe of harrow upon thz hyll', in the countye of Myd' Esquyer, and' Katheryn his wyfe, which Antony and' Dorothye had' issue betwene them one sonne and' towre dowghters, viz. Gerratt Frankyshe, Jone, Mary, Fraunces, and Jone, and the sayd Dorothye did' depart out of this world' the xx'e day of August, A'. 1574.

The burial of this lady (whose marriage is noticed hereafter, p. 287) is thus recorded in the Parish Register:—

1574. *August the xxx^th day Dorothy Frank'.*

ALFRED HEALES.

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CANOPY OF THE BRASS OF JOHN BYRKHEDE.

THE fine sepulchral brass in Harrow Church of John Byrkhede, a priest (of which an etching, by J. P. Malcolm, dated January 1, 1799, is published in that artist's "Illustrations to Lysons's Environs of London,") has been frequently, but as often imperfectly, and in several respects incorrectly noticed. The names of Weever, Gough, Lysons, and the Oxford Architectural Society, must always be mentioned as authorities claiming attention and respect; and yet, on this subject, they are all more or less to be discredited in the accounts they have given, either in their descriptions of the monument itself, or of its date, or of the person commemorated.

Let us consider it successively in these three points of view.

It is set on a ledger, or slab, measuring 9ft. 2½ by 3ft. 9 inches. The figure was 4 ft. 5 inches high. The inscription was placed on a fillet set next the margin on all four sides, and at each corner was placed a shield of arms.

The figure, which has long lost its head, represents a priest standing with his hands raised in prayer, and wearing a sumptuous cope, below which appears his linen surplice, with ample dependent sleeves, in front his almuce or tippet of fur, and towards his feet the lower portions of the cassock, which was worn beneath all the preceding. The orphreys of his cope on either side are decorated with the figures of saints standing within architectural

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tabernacles, on either side five, distinguished by their usual symbols, and the name of each inscribed below:—

S. Maria (with her Child).
S. Petrus (with keys and open book).
S. J. su'ngel' (with chalice, serpent, and palm-branch).
S. Ric'us (as a bishop).
Sca Paula (with closed book).
S. Joh' Bapt'a (with Agnus Dei on a book).
Sca Anna (with the youthful Virgin).
S. Laurenci' (habited as a deacon, with gridiron and closed book).
S. Nic'us (as a bishop).
S. Brigitta (with hands extended, and rays descending from heaven).

Saint Nicholas is represented with a crosier as a bishop; and so is Saint Richard.* The latter must be intended for the English saint, Richard of Chichester, the canonized bishop de la Wiche, who died in 1253. Saint Paula is an unusual saint; she was a Roman widow, whose life is written by Saint Jerome.

The cope is fastened at the breast by a morse, ornamented with the *rose-en-soleil*, the peculiar badge of King Edward IV.

The inscription, with the parts now missing restored from Weever,† is as follows. The hexameters, it will be observed, rhyme in couplets, and that not only at the end of their lines, but (excepting in the third couplet) at the *cæsura*.

Sta morituræ vide, doceat te massa Johannis
Vyrkhed' sub lapide quem trux necat Atropos annis
M Domini C quater Lx octo numeratis
Jungitur iste pater Cuthberge luce beatis.
Nunc charitas, grabitas, fides, prudentia morum
Presulibus primis regni fecere decorum.
O deus in celis tua lauriet alma maiestas
Quem tantum terris morum perfecit honestas.

Over the canopy were two scrolls, both now gone. One of

* Mr. Gough, Sepulchral Monuments, vol. ii, p. 260, has misread *S. Martin* for *S. Ric'us*. He also misread the priest's name as *Vyrkhed*, and *beatus*, in the fourth line of the verses, instead of *beatis*.

† Funerall Monuments, 1631, p. 531. The first and fifth lines, which were at the head and foot of the stone, and the end of the second, are now lost. There are, however, several errors in Weever's copy, besides a misreading of the date hereafter noticed, particularly *docent* for *doceat* in the first line, *quem* omitted in the second line, *beatis* altered to *beatur* in the fourth, *primis* to *primus* in the sixth, and in the seventh line *lauriet* altered to *nunc fovet*.

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them (as stated by Mr. Gough) contained this English inscription:—

Jhu blessyd mitt thu be.

The canopy was a fine architectural design, and its crockets are of unusual outline, and of peculiar elegance. Only the central portion (as shown in the cut) is now remaining; but the whole was perfect when the brass was sketched by J. P. Malcolm in 1799.

The terminations of some of the lines of the inscription are marked by garbs or wheatsheafs. These were derived from the armorial bearings of the deceased, whose entire coat, three garbs, is at the lower left-hand corner. At the right-hand upper corner is the shield of archbishop Arundell,—the pall of the see of Canterbury, impaling Arundell and Warren quarterly. The corresponding corner, over the left shoulder of the effigy, formerly contained the arms of archbishop Chicheley,—a chevron between three cinquefoils.* This shield is now lost; and of the third no remembrance even is preserved. The fourth is Byrkhede's coat of the three garbs already mentioned.

So much for the description of this memorial. Now, let us consider its date. It is expressed in the third of the Latin verses, which has been variously interpreted. Weever misread "& x" instead of LX. Gough read the line as follows:—

An domini C quater LX octo numeratis,

and he placed the monument under the year 1478—by a clerical error, it must be presumed, for 1468. Lysons, in the first edition of his Environs 1795, leaves the date undecided; but in his second edition he assigns it to 1418. The compilers of the Oxford Manual of Monumental Brasses, published in 1848, at page 42, adopted this last date; but at page 190, they say "the date should be 1468, and not 1418." The year 1468 is no doubt the true reading; but it is remarkable that that was an original error for 1467, in which year Byrkhede's will was made and proved. Of the particular day of Byrkhede's death, the day of Saint Cuthberga, it is to be remarked, that that feast was held on the 31st of August.

Lastly, with regard to the person represented. The costume,

* Gough, Sepulchral Monuments.

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which has already been described, is such as is usually found on the figures of canons of cathedral or collegiate churches; but the inscription gives only his name, without any of his dignities or preferments. It merely states that "his charity, gravity, fidelity, and prudent manners made him honourable in the estimation of the chief prelates of the kingdom." Who those prelates were was further intimated by the arms of archbishop Arundell and archbishop Chicheley being placed at the corners of the stone. To archbishop Arundell, who died as early as 1413, it is very probable that Byrkhede was indebted for his education; and to Chicheley, who, succeeding to the see of Canterbury upon Arundell's death, occupied it for thirty years, we have historical evidence that Byrkhede was closely attached. He appears to have been steward to that archbishop.*

In the history of the foundation of All Souls College, Oxford, his name occurs as one of those friends of its founder who purchased the estates required for the purpose. These being purchased (says Anthony à Wood) by Thomas Chichele archdeacon of Canterbury, Henry Penwortham, John Birkhede, and John Druell, clerks, and Robert Danvers, gentleman, the founder proceeded to lay the first stone on the 10th February, 1437.†

It appears, more particularly, that Skibbowe's tenement in the High street was purchased by Thomas Chichele, John Birkhede, John Bold, and Robert Danvers, on the 4th July, 16 Hen. VI. (1438);‡ and Besford's tenement by Thomas Chichele, John Birkhede, John Druell, and Robert Danvers, on the 5th May, 17 Hen. VI. (1439).§

The executors of archbishop Chichele's will were Thomas Chichele, archdeacon of Canterbury (his great-nephew), Richard Andrews, the first warden of All Souls' College, William Byconnell, John Birkhede, Robert Danvers, and John Wraby.‖

Again, we hear of John Byrkhede many years later, when he was admitted on the 5th April, 1465, as a Confrater of All Souls.¶

* Spencer's Life of Archbishop Chichele, 8vo. 1783, p. 165.

† Wood's Colleges and Halls of Oxford (edit. Gutch, 1786,) p. 256.

‡ Spencer's Life of Chichele, p. 224.

§ Ibid. p. 226. ‖ Ibid. p. 164.

¶ The document of his admission is printed in Gutch's Collectanea

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On that occasion he is described as "Johannes Birkhede clericus olim Executor recolendæ memoriæ Henrici Chicheley nuper Cantuariæ archiepiscopi et dicti collegii fundatoris."

Lysons designates Byrkhede as Rector of Harrow; though upon no other evidence than the circumstance of this monument existing in the church. It so happens (according to Newcourt's Repertorium Londinense) that the institutions to the rectory are deficient at the time when they should have recorded his name. As the church of Harrow, however, was one of the richest in the disposal of the archbishop of Canterbury, and one which Chicheley was likely to have conferred on his friend, there need have been little hesitation in accepting the name of John Byrkhede as one of its Rectors; but the discovery of his Will * has now set the fact beyond doubt. In that document he describes himself as "Rector of the parish church of Harrow." The will is in Latin, written by a notary.

After a religious preamble of considerable length, the testator directs his body to be interred in the chancel of the church of Harrow, and bequeaths to every chaplain present at his exequies, and saying Placebo and Dirige, and attending mass, xij *d.*; to the chaplain celebrating mass at the altar on the same occasion ij *s.*; and to every clerk helping in the choir vj *d.* To his poor parishioners present at his exequies xxvj *s.* iiij *d.* He desires that on the days of his burial and month's mind five wax lights should burn in honour of the Crucifix of our Lord Jesus Christ, and that

Curiosa, vol. ii. p. 267. The admission was honorary or complimentary; or perhaps chiefly regarded in reference to spiritual benefits. The lady abbess of Syon was admitted to be partaker of the suffrages of the college on the like footing.

* I have been helped to this discovery by Henry C. Coote, esq. of Doctors' Commons, one of the council of our Society. The will is in the books of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Godyn 24. It would have been very desirable to have inserted in this place a perfect copy of this curious will: but, as under the present system gratuitous access for literary purposes is strictly prohibited, and its official transcription would have cost *forty shillings*, I must request my readers to accept the necessarily hasty and imperfect abstract which I have above given. Before long, it is to be hoped, the remonstrances of the friends of historical and literary research will obtain a more liberal treatment from the guardians of this most interesting class of our national records.

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in the interim two wax lights should burn at the ends of his tomb. To John Welles, chaplain, if resident with him at the time of his death, and not beneficed, he bequeaths xx *li.* to pray for him for a stipulated period. To Avicia Hert, his sister, he leaves xx. marks, and his best gown of scarlet ingrain; to Gilbert Hert, his nephew, x. marks; and to Alice Hert, his niece, a legacy. Among the other legatees is Henry Hert.* To John Pelle, chaplain, xl. pounds and his best *portiforium*, or breviary, to be used by him for his life, and then left on the same condition to Robert Badcock, servant of the testator, to whom there is another legacy. To Thomas Roo he leaves his Bible, and to James Birkhede his Commentary of Saint Jerome. To his cousin Hugh Ives his best standing cup of silver, covered, engraved with the reason (or motto) *Al my pleser*. To his poor parishioners and other poor present at his month's mind liij *s.* iiij *d.*; to his poor parishioners of Hawkhurst xxvj *s.* viij *d.* To the parish church of Wigan, in Lancashire, he bequeaths vestments (which are fully described); to the church of Harowe his best gilt chalice and paten; and to the church of Hawkhurst his second gilt chalice and paten. To the house of Carthusians of London x *li.*, and the like to those of Shrewsbury. Finally, the sum of ten marks for his obit for ten years in the church of Harrow. His executors were Hugh Ives his cousin, and Gilbert Hert; and the overseers Thomas Wynterborne, clerk,† and Thomas Rygby, gentleman. The will was witnessed by master Richard Parker, notary public, and by Robert Spaldyng, the scribe or scrivener. It is dated at London on the 24th July, 1467, and proved at Lambeth on the 5th October following; when administration was granted to Ives, and subsequently to Hert.

Besides the proof this document affords of Byrkhede's having been actually Rector of Harrow, it also points to his other ecclesiastical preferments at Wigan and at Hawkhurst; but the historians of Lancashire and Kent do not afford us any additional information respecting him. The church of Wigan appears to

* A member of this family, Walter Hert, was one of the twenty Fellows of All Souls' college, appointed on its foundation in 1437.

† Wynterbourne was another of the original Fellows of All Souls.

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have been in the patronage of the duchy of Lancaster, and that of Hawkhurst in the patronage of the dean and chapter of Battle, in the fifteenth century; but the institutions of the required period are again deficient.

It is pleasant, however, to revive in a partial degree the memory of a man who was manifestly a useful and honoured member of his profession when he performed his part in life; and who should not be wholly forgotten, either at Harrow or at the college of All Souls, which was evidently indebted to his nursing care, as archbishop Chicheley's steward, in the early stages of its existence.

It is remarkable that the college of All Souls possessed, at a later period, a fellow of the same name (or nearly so), who was a person of considerable eminence. This was John Birkenhead, sometime amanuensis to archbishop Laud, and afterwards writer of the *Mercurius Aulicus*. He was expelled from the college as a royalist in 1648, and was subsequently knighted by Charles the Second. He died in 1679. Sir John was the son of Randall Birkenhead, saddler, of Northwich in Cheshire; in which county the family had long flourished, deriving its name from a place opposite Liverpool, which in late years has arisen into world-wide reputation. Dr. Ormerod, in his History of Cheshire, vol. ii. p. 199, gives a pedigree of Birkenhead of Bachford in that county, whose arms were, Sable, three garbs or, within a bordure argent, and derives them conjecturally from John de Birkenhead, who bore three garbs on his seal temp. Edward III. The Historian remarks that this was one of the numerous Cheshire bearings which are what the old heralds call arms of affection, and were adopted with reference to the coat of the local sovereigns of the Palatinate.

NOTE.—There are several other Sepulchral Brasses of the same century which may be compared with that of John Byrkhede for its magnificent display of ecclesiastical costume. The orphreys of the cope were variously decorated; and often with heraldic devices or rebuses alluding to the family arms or name of the owner. The following is a list of such as (like Byrkhede's) exhibit figures of saints, including some, now no longer existing, which may be seen among Hollar's plates to Dugdale's History of St. Paul's Cathedral: they appear to have been all canons or other dignitaries:—

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1400. Thomas de Eure, dean of St. Paul's; with ten Saints on his cope: and in tabernacles round the stone the Twelve Apostles. (Engraved in Dugdale's St. Paul's.)

14.. (Name gone), treasurer to King Richard II. With ten Saints on his cope. (In Dugdale's St. Paul's.)

1400. William Rythyn, minor canon and almoner of St. Paul's: a cope with twelve Saints. (Engraved in Dugdale's St. Paul's.)

c. 1400. A nameless priest at Boston, co. Lincoln; with eight saints.

1401. William Ermyn, at Castle Ashby, co. Northampton; with ten Saints. (Represented in Waller's Monumental Brasses, and in Franklin Hudson's Brasses of Northamptonshire.)

1401. John de Sleford, canon of Wells and Ripon, at Balsham, co. Cambridge; with ten Saints. (Engraved in Lysons's Magna Britannia, Cambridgeshire, p. 66.)

1404. Henry de Codingtoun, canon of Southwell; at Bottesford, co. Leic.: with eight Saints. (Engraved in Nichols's Leicestersh. ii. pl. xxiii.)

1414. Simon Bache, treasurer of the household of King Henry V. and canon of St. Paul's, at Knebworth, co. Hertford; with eight Saints. (Engraved in Clutterbuck's Hertfordshire, ii. 381.)

1416. John Prophete, dean of York; at Ringwood, Hampshire: with eight Saints. (Engraved in the Gentleman's Magazine for November 1807, and described in Gough's Sep. Mon. ii. 49.)

1462. John Blodwell, dean of St. Asaph; at Balsham, Cambridgeshire: with eight Saints. (Lithographed in Illustrations of Monumental Brasses, by the Cambridge Camden Society, 1846.)

1471. Henry Sever, warden of Merton College, Oxford, in the college chapel: with eight Saints. (Engraved in Boutell's Series of English Brasses, and in Ingram's Memorials of Oxford, 1837, Merton College, p. 32; Glossary of Architecture, edit. 1840, vol. ii. pl. 15.)

1485. John Newcourt, dean of Auckland and canon of St. Paul's: with eight Saints. (Engraved in Dugdale's St. Paul's.)

Another canon of St. Paul's, his name gone; arms, five mullets as a cross: with twelve Saints. (Engraved in the same plate as the last.)

Both these were also richly stored with saints in tabernacles as a border to the stone.

1456. c. 1510. A provost of Tattershall; in Tattershall Church, co. Lincoln: with the Twelve Apostles. (Engraved in Gough, ii. pl. lxvi. p. 179, under the misnomer of William Moore.)

1517. Walter Hewke, master of Trinity hall, Cambridge, in the chapel there: with twelve Saints. (Lithographed in Cambridge Camden Society's Brasses.)

It is observable that in the arrangement of the saints a gradation was observed. The apostles are uppermost, the native saints generally lower down, and the females (except the Virgin or St. Anne) lowest of all. So it is on Byrkhede's cope; and so in others where we know what the saints

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were. On Codingtoun's cope St. Peter and St. Paul are at top; St. Katharine and St. Margaret at bottom; on Sleford's, St. Margaret and St. Winefred stand lowest.

The arrangement of those on the cope of dean Blodwell is still more remarkable. The two uppermost are the angels Raphael and Gabriel; the two next archbishops; the two next bishops; and the lowest Katharine and Margaret. In his marginal tabernacles are John the Baptist and John the Evangelist, Peter and Andrew, Asaph and Nicholas, bishops, and (lowest) Bridget and Winefred.

This characteristic arrangement was not observed by Mr. Gough, who usually names the saints as they happened to strike his eye; nor is this omission supplied in the Cambridge Camden Society's account of dean Blodwell's brass, which follows Blomfield's imperfect description, in which the archangel Raphael is turned into Michael, and some of the figures are not made out. The brass is worn by treading; but perhaps not past decyphering the names of the two archiepiscopal and two episcopal saints.

The figure of William Ermyne at Castle Ashby exhibits another arrangement, for he has female saints all down one side of his cope, and male down the other,—on his right side Anne, Katharine, Margaret, Mary Magdalene, and Elena; on his left, Peter, Paul, Andrew, Nicholas, and Laurence.

Dean Prophete at Ringwood has on one side Saint George, John the Baptist, Peter, and Paul; on the other four female saints, Winefred, Katharine, Faith, and Margaret.

PORTION OF BRASS AT LUBECK, A.D. 1464.

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THE PARISH REGISTERS OF HARROW ON THE HILL, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE FAMILIES OF BELLAMY AND PAGE.

BY WILLIAM DURRANT COOPER, F.S.A.

[Read at the Harrow Meeting, 6th October, 1859.]

THE registers (which have been carefully bound in anticipation of our visit, and for safer custody hereafter,) are now perfect for *Burials* from the first year of Elizabeth's reign, November 1558, (except from 8th November 1676 till 8th September 1678), and they include all the period of the Commonwealth; for *Marriages*, also from November 1558 till 1657, when marriages were required to be celebrated before justices of the peace, but after the Restoration some friendly hand has inserted several marriages between 1653 and 1660; and for *Baptisms*, from June 1562 (three years and a half later than the other registers,) till 1644; and, again, in a part of the register following the marriages, there is a continuation of the baptisms from 1645 to 1652.

The book of registers earlier than 1653 is not noticed by Lysons; and even in the returns under the Population Act of 1831 the baptisms during the period between 1645 and 1653 are not mentioned: this portion of the register must, therefore, have been overlooked, or it has been since recovered. The marriage and burial registers from November 1558 till 1599 are not original, but were transcribed for the then vicar; and it is evident, from one of the headings describing the copy as the second book, that the first register, as prescribed by the injunction of Thomas Cromwell, in 1538, was duly kept, though not now in the parish chest.

The parish, therefore, can boast of registers more perfect than those of most places, and far more perfect than the great majority; for, in their registers, few or no entries were made for the last years of the Commonwealth, and, the civil parish registers having been generally lost, no record remains with those parishes.*

* In some cases, as at Wensley in Yorkshire, the old parish register was used during this period, and the whole are perfect.

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The number of entries under the different heads indicate a population, three hundred years ago, as large as it was a century since.*

The parish having belonged to the Archbishop of Canterbury, we are not likely to find many names of persons in the subsidy rolls assessed for lands before the time of Henry VIII ; but the subsidy rolls of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. carry us back for a few years, and show some of the principal names we may expect to meet with in the registers.

"An indenture, dated 10 June, 38 H. viij. (1547), a Contribucion for Harowe upon the Hill," gives the names of

"Willm Bellamy† in Lands . . iiij^xx. li. xxvj. s. viij. d.

* The increase of population has been accelerated by the prosperity of the school since the appointment of the Rev. Thomas Thackeray as head master, when the school scarcely numbered forty boys. He was born at Hampswaite, a village near Harrogate, Yorkshire, in 1690; and having been educated at Eton was admitted a scholar of King's College, Cambridge, in 1711, and elected a Fellow in 1714. He was next under-master of Eton, and having married Ann Woodward, of the family of Thomas à Wood's "schismatical vicar of Bray," was chosen master of Harrow. He was on 29th August 1728 rector of Heydon, Essex. In July 1748 he was appointed chaplain to Frederick Prince of Wales, and on 24th March 1753 he was installed archdeacon of Surrey. In February 1743 he had contested the Provostship of King's with William George, the fellows being for many hours equally divided, and the loss was fortunate, since the increased profits of Harrow enabled the doctor to provide better for a family of twenty-two children. Being promised a bishopric, he went to London, and there died in 1760, and was buried in Harrow Churchyard. Some of his verses are in the Musæ Etonenses. His portrait has been presented to the school by his grandson Martin Thackeray, esq., and his great-grandson is the author of "Vanity Fair."

† The Bellamys were originally of Hadley, Middlesex. There are Inq. p. m. on 13th Dec. 1558, on the death of John Bellamy of Hadley, leaving Katharine Bellamy his daughter and heir, aged nine years and upwards; on 5th May 1566, on the death of William Bellamy, whose son William was his heir; and on 9th Dec. 1583, on Henry Bellamy, who died at Hadley 5th August then last, and whose son William, aged twenty-six years, was his heir. Among the grants at the College of Arms, (I. 1568,) was one of *Vert, a bend cotised or, three crescents gu.* for Joane, daughter and heir of William Bellamy of Hadley, and wife to the worshipful Thomas Blagrave, of the county of Wilts, gentleman. The connection with the Godelacs was thus: Thomasine, daughter and heir of Thomas Godelac, married Sir John Boys,

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"Harry Whytt in Lands . . . . xl. s. viij. d.
"Thomas Agernell in Landes . . xlvj. s. viij. d. ix. d.
"Thomas Ferne in goods . . . . xvij. li. ij. s. x. d.

In the Relief, 4 April, 4 Edw. vj. (1550), in the parish of Harrowe upon the Hill, "with thamelette," there were assessed

"Willm Layton, gent. in goods . . . lx. li. lx. s.
"Willm Bellamy, gent. in goods . . . lxx. li. lxx. s.
"John Dolte, in goods . . . . . x. li. x. s.
"Richard Fynche, in goodes . . . . x. li. x. s.
"Thomas Ferne, in goodes . . . . xvij. li. xvij. s.
"Harry Agyrnell, in goodes . . . . x. li. x. s."

Many of the early entries in the registers relate to families still in existence in the parish; whilst the majority refer to those names which have passed from the district. A brief reference to some of the most prominent will interest us.

The BELLAMYS of Uxenden, the descendants of the Godelacs, like many other Catholic families, in the early part of Elizabeth's time used the offices of the Established Church; and we find entries of the baptism of Mary Bellamy, 24th January, 1564-5; of the burials of William Bellamy, 19th May, 1566; and of Elizabeth Bellamy, in October, 1567; of the baptism of Faith Bellamy (a son), 26th August, 1566; of the marriage on 8th December, 1567, of Anthony Frankes and Dorothy Bellamy;* and the baptism of Audry Bellamy, on 16th August, 1573. Soon afterwards they ceased to use the offices, and many to attend the services, of the Church; and gave such open coun-

knt., who died in 1447, and directed his body to be buried in Harrow church. Their great-grandson, Thomas Boys of Harrow, married Joane daughter of Thomas Nix of London, and sister and heir of John Nix, Bishop of Norwich. Mabel, the daughter and heir of this Thomas Boys and Joane (Nix), became the wife of Richard Bellamy of Harrow, and they were parents of William Bellamy who married Katharine daughter of Richard Page, and is the lady afterwards mentioned. The pedigree of Bellamy (erroneously printed by Mr. Turnbull) is in the Harl. MS. 1551, and they quartered the arms of *Godelac*, *Nix*, and *Simmons*. In the church of the Grey Friars, London (Coll. Top. et Gen. v. p. 392), was an inscription for Gilbert Bellamy, citizen and goldsmith of London, and Alice his wife, who died 4th June, 1498.

* Of Water-Strotford, co. Bucks. See notice of her brass, p. 275.

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tenance to the members of the Romish faith, that when the Babington plot was discovered, in July, 1586, the principal and some of his followers sought refuge amongst the buildings at Uxenden. Their flight and capture are thus described by Camden, in his "Elizabeth:"*

"Babington having run hastily by darke to Westminster, Gage changed clothes with him, who presently put the same off againe in Charnock's chambers, and put on Charnock's, and withall they withdrewe themselves into S. John's wood, neere the city, whither also Barnewell and Dunn made their retreit. In the meanetime they were openly proclaimed traitors all over England. They, lurking in woods and bye-corners, after they had in vain sought to borrow money of the French Embassador, and horses of Tichbourne, cut off Babington's haire, besmeared and soiled the natural beauty of his face with green wallnut shales, and, being constrained by famine, went to an house of the Bellamies, neere Harrow-hill, who were greatly addicted to the Romish religion. There were they hid in barnes, fed and cloathed in rusticall attire, but the tenth day after they were found, brought to London, and the city witnessed their publicke joy by ringing of bells, making of bonfires, and singing of psalms, insomuch that the citizens receaved very great commendations and thanks from the Queene."

This took place on 22nd August, and was the common mode before newspapers were general, and when no direct post for letters existed, of spreading tidings throughout the country, and rousing the feelings of the people; the news of the rejoicings in London being conveyed by the carriers to the furthest parts of the empire.

In the list of houses to be searched on the 21st August for Babington's picture were two houses of Mrs. Bellamy, one being called Okington, adjoining Wembly Park, and consequently near Uxenden, Harrow-on-the-Hill; the other at Kentish Town, by "Pankeredge."†

On the 14th of August, 1586, the examination of Mrs. Bellamy's servants took place, and they furnish fuller evidence of Babington's difficulties after his flight from London, notwith-

* Book iii. p. 78.

† MSS. Domestic, 1586, No. 459.

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standing the vague orders which Lord Burghley informs us were given to the watch to capture a man with a long nose, and which description would have included Burghley himself, as he tells us when he saw the watch at Enfield.

"The examination of Richard Smithe of Uxondon, servant to Mrs. Bellamye widow, of the age of 49 years or thereabouts, before Richard Payne and John Barne esquires," is as follows:*

"Impmis, the saide examinate saiethe that uppon Sondaie, being the 7th of this presente Auguste, one Swithen Wells† [came] and a gent. with him (who semed to this deponente of thage of 30 yeres and more, beinge talle of stature, of whitely compleccion, somewhat rownde faced, his bearde flaxon and cutt shorte, havinge a doublett and hose of yeallowe fustian, and a russet cloake.) He further saiethe that the saide Wells and thother before mencyoned came to his saide mrs house on horsebacke uppon Saterdaie, beinge the 6th of this Auguste, and contynued there untill the Mondaie morninge then nexte followinge. The saide examinate furthr saith that uppon the aforesaide Mondaie, in thafternoone, two gent. (as he thinkethe) of smale stature came to his said mirs house uppon horsebacke, bothe of them in blacke cloaks, but what othr apparell they had he rememberethe nott: and he saiethe that the said two psons laste mencioned remayned in his said mirs house all that nighte and depted from thence the next daie in the forenoone. And furthr this examinate saiethe nott.

"Katherine Page, seruante of thaforesaide Mrs. Bellamy, of thage of 26 yeres or thereabouts, examined as is aforesaide, saiethe that uppon Fridaie, beinge the 5th of this instante monethe, one Wells came on horsebacke to her saide mirs house, in thafternoone of the same daie, and there remayned untill the Mondaie morninge then nexte followinge. And she further saiethe that uppon Saterdaie, beinge the 6th of this instante monethe, there came to her said mrs house one othr man on horsebacke, beinge in a cloak, but she rememberethe not the colloure thereof, but that it had a golde lace uppon the cape, and what othr apparell he had on

* MSS. Domestic, 1586, Nos. 452, 453.

† Swithin Wells, in his examination on 9th Aug. had denied that he did not know Babington, but only exchanged salutations with him in the streets, having recommended a servant to him. (Ib. No. 434.)

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she rememberethe nott, neither dothe she knowe what his name is; whoe remayned att her saied mi[rs] house untill Mondaie then nexte followinge and then depted from thence in the forenoone of the same day accompanied by the said Wells. And further, the said examinate saiethe that uppon the saied Mondaie there came to her saied m[rs] house two men of lowe stature havinge cloaks, but of what colloure she rememberethe nott, whoe had yeallowe fustian doubletts, and touchinge the residue of their apparell she rememberethe nott; and the saied two persons laste before menc̄oned remayned att her saied m[rs] house untill the nexte Tuisdaye, and then departed from thence in the forenoone of the same daie, and further she saiethe nott.

"Joane Piper, s'uante to Mrs. Bellamy, aged 22 yeres, or thereabouts, beinge examined as is aforesaide, saiethe that uppon Thursday, in the morninge, beinge the 4th day of this instante moneth, there came to her saied m[rs] house one Mr. Wells, whoe remayned there untill Mondaie morninge then nexte followinge and then departed; and the saied examinate further [saith that] uppon Fridaie, being the 5th of this present moneth, there came to her saied m[rs] house a straunge man,* whoe lodged there all that nighte and departed from thence the nexte morninge, whom she did nott see, but hearde of that by reporte of her fellowes, and further this examinate saiethe nott.

"Frauncis Fynche, s'uante to Mrs. Bellamy, of thage of 24 yeres or thereabouts, beinge exãied, saiethe that uppon Mondaie (as he taketh it), beinge the 8th of this presente moneth, there came to his saied m[rs] house two men uppon horsebacke, whoe enquired of this examinate whither Mr. Jerome Bellamy were in his m[rs] house or no, and he answered that he was within the saied house, whereuppon they bothe wente into the saied house and there remayned untill the nexte morninge and then departed from thence; and further this exãnate saiethe, that uppon Wensdaie laste paste this examinat being [at] ploughe nere his saied m[rs] house there passed by him a strainger on horsebacke, whoe rod to his m[rs] house (as he thinkethe) and there remayned aboute a quarter of an houre and then retorned from thence agayne, and further he saieth nott.

* Probably Charnock.

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"Richarde Mascrett, aged 26 yeres or thereabouts, beinge examined, saiethe that uppon Sondaye, beinge the 7th of this present monethe, there came unto his m^rs house one Swithen Wells, accompaned wth one oth^r whome this exãnate knowethe nott, and they depted from thence uppon Mondaie then nexte followinge; and further the saied examinate saiethe, that uppon Mondaye or Twisdaye laste paste he wente wth one whoe was att his m^rs' house 3 or 4 miles uppon the waye to directe him towards London, but what his name is he knowethe nott, and further this exãnate saiethe nott."

Richard Mascall, servant to Mrs. Bellamy, stated that Jerom Bellamy appointed him to guide the parties and willed him to carry meat to these parties; he met with them in the wood and knew Donne, for that Donne had been divers times at Mrs. Bellamy's house. He saw them first lying on the ground in the woods, and then he went to his mistress' house; when in the barn he saw Donne and Jerome. Jerome delivered unto this party the meat and 3 loaves of bread which this party carried at night. They came to the hay barn upon Thursday night, and all five lay there. The meat was dressed in his mistress' house. Upon Sunday at night they were all together in the woods. Donne and Gage were taken upon Sunday night between 8 and 9 of the clock, and this party being with them fled from the watchman. Mr. Donne hath a son at Windsor dwelling in a farm called Shawe, who is servant to the Master of the Rolls [Sir Gilbert Gerrard]. Dolman and one Wells came of late to his mistress' house. Donne told this party that all these other parties did seek to save themselves for religion's sake.

The Bellamys suffered severely for their poor protection. Jerome was tried on 15th September, 1586, (the day after Babington's conviction,) and in the certificate of the Attorney and Solicitor-General * he is returned as attainted by the verdict of twelve men, his offence being that he aided and relieved Babington, Barnewell, and Donne in the woods and in his mother's hay barn, after that he understood that search was made for them as traitors for conspiring the death of the Queen's Majesty, and he was afterwards executed.

* MSS. Domestic, 1586, No. 512.

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Katherine Bellamy, the mother, was committed to the Tower for high treason, and on the 30th November, 1586, she, together with Lady Copley and some others, was ordered to be proceeded against, and in due course of law indicted for harbouring of strangers and seminaries.*

Robert Bellamy, another son, had been still earlier in trouble. In a return made on the 13th of June, 1586, of the seminary priests and other recusants then remaining in the gaol of Newgate,† he is styled gentleman, and is reported as having been committed on the 30th of January, 1585–6, by Mr. Young and other of the Commissioners for the Romish religion, and, having been convicted at the sessions holden on the 18th of April, 1586, for hearing mass, he had judgment accordingly.

In the return of the prisoners with their conditions,‡ made in July, 1586, he is returned as "poore." In the return made on the 31st of May, 1587,§ he is included among the persons still in prison in Newgate as common receivers, harbourers, and maintainers of Jesuits and seminary priests. In the same year ‖ he was returned as reconciled to Rome and refusing to take the oaths to the queen; and six years afterwards he gave the following description of himself and of his sufferings; though, like the Lord Admiral and others of the same faith, he would have supported the civil government of his queen against all foreign aggression:—

On 15th April, 1593, Robert Bellamy, of Harrow at Hill, gentleman, of 52 years, being examined,¶ saith that he hath been in prison 6 years. First being taken with Blackborn, a seminary priest, in his house at mass, with divers others, committed to Newgate. Did afterwards break prison with others and fled into Scotland, and from thence into Germany, and there taken by Duke Casimire, and by him sent into England. Then committed by Sir Francis Walsingham, by the means of Robert Robinson, who had 20 marks for his labour, being a suitor to the Privy Council, was by their honours set at liberty. Afterwards com-

* MSS. Domestic, 1586, Nos. 524, 647. Strype's Annals, iii. part. i. book ii. p. 610.

† Domestic, 1586, No. 312. ‡ Ibid. No. 418. § Ibid. 1587, No. 307

‖ Strype's Annals, iii. part ii. p. 600. ¶ Ibid. iv. p. 259.

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mitted again by Mr. Young and other commissioners, about 12 months since or somewhat more. Then at Easter set at liberty again upon bonds taken with sureties that he should appear at the next sessions. In the mean time should resort to the Dean of Westminster for conference. And again being committed by Mr. Young for being found in the court as a man suspected. But will not yet come to church. Being demanded, if any army shall come into this realm by the Catholic Romish authority sent by the Pope to establish the Catholic Romish religion (as he calleth it) within this realm, whether in the like case he would fight for the Queen's majesty against such an army, or against the Queen's majesty and her forces on the said army's side? saith he will fight for the Queen's majesty against any such army; and this he affirmeth on his oath. Saith he hath not been at church these 15 years; but yet is not indited for recusancy. He destroyed himself in prison.

Robert Southwell* the Jesuit priest was also discovered and arrested at Uxenden, and it was admitted by him† that he had been often in Bellamy's house; and his friend John Gerard, another Jesuit, defended the denial of the fact by one of the witnesses as being a denial authorised by the example of the Saviour.

In June, 1592, it was ordered, "That Mr. Justice Young, or sume other lyke comissioner, do apprehend Richard Bellamy of Oxenden, in the parryshe of Harrow on the hyll, and his wyffe, and ther tow sonnes and ther tow doughters, in whose howse father Southell alias Mr. Cotton was tayken by Mr. Toplay, a comyssyoner, and wher a noumber of other preests have beene recevyd and harberd, aswell when Southwell hathe bene ther as when Mr. Barnes alias Straundge als Hynd als Wingfild hathe beene ther a sojorner in Bellamy's howse. And they to bee comytted to severall prysons: Bellamy and his wyfe to the Gayt-

* Southwell's mother, Bridget, was daughter of Sir Roger Copley of Roughay in Horsham, Sussex (not Suffolk, as Mr. Turnbull prints it in his edition of Southwell's Poetical Works. Lond. 1856). His maternal grandmother was Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Shelley, of Michelgrove, Sussex, Justice of the Common Pleas, 1547.

† Strype's Annals, iv. p. 428.

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house, and ther too doughters to ye Clynk, and ther tow soones to St. Katheryns, and to be examyned straytly for the weighty service of ye Qs Maty." *

And in September, Richard Topclyff, writing to Sir John Puckering, told him that if he kept W. Bellamy and his family in strict confinement he would soon discover sufficient cause against them.†

Mr. Turnbull in his memoir of Southwell gives an account of his betrayal, and copy of the examination, on the 15th July, 1594 (after his execution), of Katharine Bellamy (who was a Page) and her three children. She said that she heard divine service and sermons, but had not received the communion; and that her two sons, Faithe and Thomas (the latter then aged 22 or 23 years), also went to church; but her widowed daughter, Audrey Wilford, declared that, so far as she remembered, she never was at church in all her life; and the other daughter, Mary, aged 27 years, declared that she had not been at church for 14 years, and her conscience would not suffer her to go.

Another family of importance dwelt at Roxeth, the BLUNTS, and several entries in the registers relate to them: Thomas Blunt was baptised 27th January, 1565-6; William Blunt, 18th March, 1570; Agnes Blunt, 15th November, 1573; and Isabell Blunt, 1574-5; the burials name Alice Blunt, 17 May, 1562, and Matthias Blunt, on 1st March, 1564-5.

Of the families of the six first Governors named in Lyon's Charter for the foundation of the School in 1571 there is also mention in the registers.

JAMES GERARD was buried 14th May, 1568; and his two sons, Gilbert and William Gerard, the trustees, were connected with Harrow by property. Gilbert Gerard, who was Attorney-General in 1559, for 20 years, was promoted on 30th May, 1581, to the Mastership of the Rolls, and, dying in February, 1593-4, was not buried here, but at Ashley, Staffordshire.‡ His

* Domestic, 22 June, 1592, No. 149 A.

† Domestic, Sept. 1592, No. 247 B.

‡ Foss's Judges, v. p. 491.

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eldest son was created a Baron, but that title became extinct in 1711; and another barony, created in favour of the son of Sir Gilbert's second son, was extinct in 1702. William Gerard, his younger brother, Clerk of the Council of the Duchy of Lancaster, was a resident at Flambards. He is mentioned in the assessment of 1598, and died in 1609.* His son (who is noticed in Lysons) was created a Baronet in 1620, and that honour became extinct in 1715.

There were also two PAGES named as governors: John Page, of Wembly, and Thomas Page, of Sudbury Court. The registers contain evidences of their pedigree, but their family also is extinct in the direct male line.

In the MSS. at the College of Arms (C. 28, part ii. p. 38,) is a pedigree of the Pages of Wembly, beginning with Henry Page, father of John Page (the governor). John was the eldest son, and died in 1623, having (according to his monument) lived to see seventy-five children and grandchildren. His wife was Audry, daughter of Thomas Redding. Their eldest son, John, was one of the Masters in Chancery, and as trustee for Dudley, Lord North, sold Iping, in Sussex (Add. Charters, 6607-10). Their daughter Katharine married Richard Browne, of Kirkby Underwood, Lincolnshire; and their daughter Frances married Philip Gerard, of Gray's Inn, fifth son of William of Flambards (Harl. MS. 1551, fol. 90). Richard, their second son (who married Frances, daughter of Robert Mudge, of London, clothworker), was of Uxenden, and distinguished himself in the civil wars on the side of the King. In November, 1644, being then a captain, he was made a Lieut.-Colonel in Colonel James Penniman's regiment of foot, raised in Yorkshire; he came with the King from York (Symonds's Diary, Camd. Soc. p. 161), and was knighted by Charles on his road to Oxford, 2nd June, 1645 (ib. p. 185). In May, 1645, he had an augmentation to his arms: "*Or, a fesse dancettée between three martlets az. a bordure of the last*," of "*a canton gu. a lion passant guardant or*," from the arms of the King. Crest: "*A hand in armour proper issuing*

* In Harrow church are monuments to William Gerard, Esq. who died 1584, and to this William Gerard, Esq. who died 1609, with effigies of him and his sister.

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out of a ducal coronet or, guttée de sang," in consideration of his services at the battles of Kenton (or Edgehill, 23rd October, 1642), Braunteforth (Brentford, 15 November, 1642), Alresford (29th March, 1644), and Newbury, the second (27th October, 1644), in which he was seriously wounded [Walker's Grants, R. 23-312]. For his services at Foy, Leicester, and Newbury, see Clarendon, iv. 540, 585-6-9; v. 176. He had seven sons: (1) John, of the Middle Temple; (2) Richard, of Wembly, who married Elizabeth Cart; (3) Richard; (4) William, believed to be the rector of East Cocking, Berks, appointed in 1644 master of Reading school, and who died 1660; (5) Francis; (6) Henry; and (7) Thomas; and three daughters: Barbara, who married Clement Scudamore; Jane, who married William Savage, of Loxworth, Dorset; and Audrey, the wife of Robert Hadden, of Westminster.

The fifth governor, THOMAS REDDING, was of Pinner, where a separate register was kept, though none earlier than 1656 can now be found.

The family of the sixth governor, RICHARD EDLYN, of Woodhall, has also left the neighbourhood, being recently resident at Watford. The registers here contain entries of the baptism of Thomas Edlyn, in the year of the foundation of the school, and other notices of the family, which is represented through a female descent by Edlyn Walmisley, Esq. and Edlyn Tomlins, Esq.

The family of FYNCHE, extinct likewise in the male line, yet represented in the female by Henry Finch Hill, Esq. resided in the earliest period of the registers at Greenhill: and were connected by marriage with another family still flourishing here, the Greenhills of Greenhill. One of the earliest entries is of the burial, on 8th December, 1558, of Amy Fynch; on the last day of March, 1559, was buried Alice Fynch; on 28th May, 1560, Joane Fynche; on 17th February, 1560-1, Griselda Fynche; on 9th March, 1560-1, Thomas Fynche; on 21st June, 1561, Audry Fynche, and another Audry Fynche on 12th October, 1561; on 11th June, 1562, of George Fynche; on 11th November, 1563, of Elizabeth Fynche; in December, 1563, of Cicely Fynsh on 14th, Henry Fynche on 19th, and Robert on 30th; of Susan and John, both on 11th January, 1563-4; and of another John on

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12th June of the same year; and of two Williams on 30th January, 1565-6, and 25th February, 1568-9, and several other entries. There are also recorded among the early entries the marriages on 4th July, 1560, of Henry Fynche and Joane Greenhill; on 5th September, 1565, of John Weste and Joane Finche; on 18th November, 1566, of John Lawday and Elizabeth Finch; and on 13th November, 1569, of John Fynch and Maria Herton, the lady being the first who has recorded her autograph in the register; it must have been added at least thirty years after the date. The baptisms record the names on 29th August, 1571, of Awdry Fynche; on 12th October, 1572, of Thomas Fynche (who is assessed in 1598); on 5th November, 1572, of Richard Fynche; on 21st December, 1572, of Clare and Isabell Fynche; on 22nd February, 1572-3, of Dorothy Fynche; on 24th August, 1573, of Hierome Fynche; on 7th September, 1573, of Rose Fynche; on 10th October, 1573, of James Fynche; and on 19th October, 1573, of Arthur Fynche.

Of the GREENHILLS of Greenhill several families must have been cotemporary. The first year's register of marriages contains three of the family. On 22nd May, 1559, Henry *Green*hill married Margaret *Chalk*hill; on 9th October, William Greenhill married Isabell Reading; on 16th November, Robert Greenhill married Joane Halmond; on 18th February, 1562-3, Thomas Greenhill married Joane Shephearde; and on 14th November, 1563, Thomas Taner married Margaret Greenhill. The baptismal register mentions on 15th March, 1566, Post Greenhill; on 29th April, 1571, Richard Greenhill; on 24th June, 1571, Jane Greenhill; on 4th July, 1572, Bryan Greenhill; on 22nd February, 1572-3, John Greenhill; on 5th June, 1573, Margaret Greenhill; on 28th December, 1573, Ranulphus Greenhill; on 24th October, 1574, Margaret Greenhill; and on 20th March, 1574, William Greenhill. The burials are of five Joane Greenhills, one on 24th December, 1559, another 25th January, 1559-60, the third on 28th May in the same year, the fourth 12th June, 1566, and the fifth, on 20th October, 1569; and of four Johns, one on 28th May, 1560, another 13th January following, the third on 24th August, 1563, and the fourth on 18th December, 1563; of Richard Greenhill, on 9th November, 1561; of William Greenhill, 26th December, 1561; of Thomas Green-

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hill, on 22nd March, 1562-3; of Robert Greenhill, on 22nd April, 1563; and of Alice Greenhill, 25th May, 1565.

There is an entry on 10th January, 1571-2, of the baptism of MATTHEW MARNHAM, whose descendants still reside in the parish, and are possessed of property at Sudbury: as also of the family of HAWKINS, one of whom, Amy Hawkins, was buried 14th July, 1559, and another, Alice, 10th December, 1561.

JOHN LYON of Preston, the Founder of the School, is not proved to have been a native of this place. The register records the burial on 25th May, 1583, of his only son Zachary (whose effigy once existed in the centre of the brass to his father), buried 4th October, 1592; and of his mother, the founder's widow Joan, buried on 30th August, 1608.

A subsidy roll of 1598 gives us the names of the then holders of lands and fees, and of two persons assessed for goods.

In the certificate dated 31 Oct. 40 Eliz. 1598, for the hundred of Gore, there were rated in lands and fees—

"Wiłm Gerrard, Esq.	xx. li.	iiij. li.
"Thomas ffinche	xx. s.	iiij. s.
"Nichas Elkyn	xx. s.	iiij. s.
"Joane Harey, wid	xx. s.	iiij. s.
"Randoll Smyth	xx. s.	iiij. s."

In goodes—

"John Barnerd	iiij. li.	x. s.	viij. d.
"Giles Maneard	iiij. li.	x. s.	viij. d."

The PEACHEYS, whose tomb has been celebrated by Lord Byron's notice, were residents in the neighbourhood till recently, and on 15th November, 1563, Dorothy Peaché was buried.

The names of Smyth, one of whom, Randoll, was assessed in 1598; of Fisher of Roxeth; of Bugbere; of Kenton; of William Harman, 22 June, 1562; of Richard Germane, 28th July, 1564; of John Wright, 20th April, 1569; of Richard Laurence, 29th November, 1570; and of several more families still living in the parish in the humble position of labourers, are likewise found in the first book of registers, which affords the most reliable and at the same time the most interesting evidence of persons who might have heard Wolsey preach within the walls of this parish church, and who certainly lived to welcome the firm establishment of our Protestant faith under Elizabeth.

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Proceedings at the Meetings of the Society.

TENTH GENERAL MEETING,

Held at the Rooms of the Architectural Exhibition (Gallery of British Artists), Suffolk Street, Pall Mall, on Wednesday Evening, February 10th, 1858,

FREDERICK KEATS, Esq., Ex-Sheriff of London, in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN, in opening the proceedings, said that in the absence of the noble President, he had, as one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society, been requested to take the Chair, the duties of which he wished had been placed in abler hands. The objects, the uses, and the necessities of such a Society as the present were more and more appreciated every day, and he was pleased and gratified by seeing such a numerous attendance on the present occasion.

The Rev. THOMAS HUGO, F.S.A., F.L.S., read a paper on the Bell Tower in the Tower of London, which will be found at page 211.

Mr. JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS, F.S.A., then read a paper on the Lieutenants of the Tower of London, which will also be found at page 225.

Mr. WILLIAM TAYLER, F.S.S., read the next paper, entitled, "A Walk from Westminster to the Tower in the reign of Queen Elizabeth," of which the following is a summary:—

"Few who now traverse the streets of this great metropolis realise, even in imagination, the contrast which it presents to what it did in the time of Queen Elizabeth, when the mansions of the great were principally concentred from Westminster along the Strand, so as to have easy access to the river, then a principal highway. There are few houses in London older than the time of Queen Elizabeth and James I. The Great Fire almost entirely destroyed those of the City. Until about the year 1200, there were very few stone houses, and none tiled or slated; at that period they were principally built of wood and thatched with straw; and the simplicity and customs of the time are forcibly illustrated in Blount's Jocular Tenures, wherein it is related that a century after this period one Peter Stileman held lands from Edward II. to find (among other things) litter for the king's bed and hay for his horse.

"In the time of Queen Elizabeth the shore opposite Lambeth, known as Westminster, was a mere marshy tract.

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"Of the conventual church of St. Peter's Abbey of Westminster, it will only be necessary to remark;—that it was founded in the seventh century, was afterwards burnt by the Danes, and rebuilt and finished by the pious Edward the Confessor in 1066. The Saxon pile was pulled down by Henry III. and rebuilt in its present elegant and magnificent form. He did not, however, live to complete his design, and it advanced but slowly in succeeding reigns.

"There was a celebrated Horse-ferry at Stangate, on the Lambeth shore, which had a corresponding station at Westminster; and at the King's Stairs, at the Palace of Westminster, was a sort of castellated gate, from which the King and Court had access from the Palace to the river; as had many of the noblemen's houses in the Strand. Beyond the Palace of Westminster and Westminster Hall appears to have been open country.

"In the other direction, towards the North, stood some streets and lanes by the waterside, distinguished in olden times by the residence of the nobility. In Cannon Row—so named from being inhabited by some of the canons of the royal chapel of St. Stephen, but at one time corrupted into Channell Row—was the stately house built by Anne Stanhope, wife of the Protector Somerset. There, also, in 1603, William, Earl of Derby, had a "*fair* mansion," and Henry Clinton, Earl of Lincoln, another.

"Immediately beyond these buildings began the vast palace of Whitehall, originally built by Hubert de Burgh, Earl of Kent, in the reign of Henry III., and for centuries the residence of the Archbishops of York, when it was called York House. Here Wolsey took his final leave of greatness in 1529; it then passed into the possession of Henry VIII. and from that time became the residence of our princes. It was, however, almost wholly destroyed by fire in 1697.

"Here, also, was the well-known gate, designated Holbein's Gate:* built with bricks of two colours, glazed, and disposed in a tessellated fashion. The top, as well as the elegant towers on each side of it, was embattled. This charming structure was taken down in 1750.

"In the time of James I. Whitehall was in a ruinous state, and that monarch determined to rebuild it. The noble banqueting room was begun in 1619, from the design of Inigo Jones,† and the ceiling was painted by Rubens; but his magnificent ideas for the remainder of the palace exist only upon paper.

"A little to the eastward, stood one of the memorials of the affection of

* This most beautiful gate, and another called King's Gate, but the latter of much later date and of far inferior beauty, and which was the entry to a passage to the Park, the Tennis-court, the Bowling-green, the Cockpit, and Tilting-yard, are engraved in plates 17 and 18 of the "Vetusta Monumenta," and also by Kip.

† In Walpole is mentioned the pay which was given to this great architect. "To Inigo Jones, surveyor of the works done about the King's houses, 8s. 4d. per diem, and £46 per annum for house-rent, a clerk, and other incidental expenses."

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Edward I. for his beloved Eleanor—the beautiful cross of Charing, destroyed by the religious fury of the Reformers. In the place where this cross stood was afterwards erected the most beautiful equestrian statue of Charles I. cast in 1633, by Le Sœur, for the Earl of Arundel.

"The parish of St. Martin's, approximate to Charing Cross, and now of such wealth and importance, formerly comprised a very large extent, as the parishes of St. James', St. Anne, and St. Paul Covent Garden, were formed out of it; but in the reign of Henry VIII. a small church was built here at the King's expense, on account of the poverty of the parishioners, who probably were at that period very few.

"Proceeding towards Hungerford Market, we find—near where the latter now is—stood a fine mansion, which had been of old the Bishop of Norwich's inn. This, in 1536, was taken in exchange by Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, for his house called Southwark Place; and in Queen Mary's reign it was purchased by Heath, Archbishop of York, from whose possession it took the name of York House; and Toby Matthew, the Archbishop of that see in the time of James I. exchanged it with the Crown. The Lords Chancellor Egerton and Bacon resided in it, and it afterwards came into the possession of the first Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, who made it a magnificent house. In 1648 the Parliament bestowed it on Lord Fairfax, whose daughter and heiress marrying George Villiers, second Duke of Buckingham, it again came into that family. The extent and identity of this once noble structure and domain is sufficiently attested, even in the present day, by York Buildings, George, Villiers, Duke, and Buckingham Streets in the Strand, which are built on the site; and we have yet left us to admire the fine stone gate of York Stairs, the work of Inigo Jones. The house itself was not taken down till long after the Restoration, and a few rooms still remain.

"Durham Place (*i. e.* palace), which was situated near where Durham Yard now is, took its name from a palace originally built here by Anthony de Beck, Patriarch of Jerusalem and Bishop of Durham, in the reign of Edward I. and designed by him for his town residence and that of his successors. It was rebuilt by Bishop Hatfield in 1381, and exchanged by Bishop Tunstall with Henry VIII. who made it a royal palace. Edward VI. gave it for life to his sister Elizabeth; but Queen Mary, considering the gift as a sacrilege, granted the reversion to the see of Durham. In this house, in 1540, a grand entertainment was given, at which the King and Queen (Anne of Cleves—this being the lady whom, I believe, his Majesty afterwards dignified by a very uncourtly name), and her ladies, and the Mayor of London, with the aldermen and their wives, were feasted.

"The Earls of Worcester also had a very large house between Durham Place and the Savoy; and it is recorded that the great Earl of Clarendon (the historian) lived in it, and paid what must in those days have been a most extravagant sum—viz., the rent of £500 a year. This house was pulled down by their descendant, one of the Dukes of Beaufort, and the

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present Beaufort Buildings rose on the site. Nearly opposite to this was the garden of the Abbot of Westminster, which extended to St. Martin's Church: it was called the Convent Garden, and retains, in a corrupted form, its name to this day. It was subsequently granted by the King to the noble family of Russell: and Bedford House, the former town house of the family, which stood in the Strand, has long since given way to what is now Little Bedford Street.

"Proceeding eastwards, we come to the spot where stood the very ancient palace and church of the Savoy, some of the walls of which, even in the present century, were entire. Henry III. granted it to Peter of Savoy (from whom it took its name), uncle to his Queen Eleanor, and the grant was singular, being of all the houses on the Thames where this building stood, on condition of rendering to the Exchequer three barbed arrows. Some fine monuments are still to be seen in the church of St. Mary-le-Savoy.

"In close proximity to the Savoy stood Burghley House, built by that great statesman Lord Burghley, who died here in 1598; on its site was afterwards erected Exeter Change. A little further on, at the point which now forms about the east corner of Wellington Street, stood Wimbledon House, built by Sir Edward Cecill, son to the first Earl of Exeter, created by Charles I. Viscount Wimbledon. It was burnt down in 1628, the very day after his lordship had had the misfortune of having part of his house at Wimbledon, in Surrey, blown up by gunpowder.

"Formerly, a bridge, where Catherine Street now is, crossed the street, and was called Strand Bridge, the channel under which received the water from the high grounds. Many ancient buildings and inns for students and professors of the law, whose very names are now almost unknown and forgotten, stood a little to the eastward and northward of this point. These were all pulled down by the Protector Somerset about 1549, to build Somerset Palace with.

"The palace itself, like many others, went through various vicissitudes of ownership. Queen Elizabeth resided in it for a time; Anne of Denmark kept her court here; and it was assigned as the residence of Henrietta Maria, the queen-mother, from July 1662 till May 1665. Catherine wife of Charles II. lodged here, and had her Roman Catholic chapel. In the vault beneath the archway were several interments; a register of the marriages, baptisms, and burials, has been printed by Sir Thomas Phillipps. This palace is also said to have been the scene of the murder of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey, in 1678.

To the eastward of Somerset House stood, about where are now Howard, Norfolk, and Arundel Streets, the magnificent house of the Earl of Arundel, called Arundel Palace,* formerly Bath's Inn, from its having

* In the "Anecdotes of the Howard Family," by the Hon. Charles Howard, p. 93, reference is made to this mansion.

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been the residence of the Bishops of Bath and Wells. The Duc de Sully, who was lodged in it during his embassy to England on the accession of James I., says it was one of the finest and most commodious houses in London; and near to it, and opposite to what was then called Chester Inn, stood an ancient cross, and in later times a May-pole, which, falling into decay in 1717, was begged by Sir Isaac Newton, who caused it to be carried to Wanstead, in Essex, and erected in the park there.*

"In Drury-lane stood Drury House, the habitation of the great family of the Drurys, afterwards possessed and rebuilt by William Lord Craven, and called Craven House; this house, according to Pennant, existed in his time, and was a public-house, and called the 'Queen of Bohemia's Head,' it being currently known that Lord Craven had been privately married to that Princess.

"The original church of St. Clement Danes was a very ancient fabric, having the reputation of being one of the churches built on this tract before the Conquest. The present church was rebuilt circ. 1682. Not far from this spot stood Exeter House, from the time of Edward III till that of Edward VI., the residence of the Bishops of Exeter; in the latter reign the King's Secretary, Sir William afterwards Lord Paget had a grant of it: under Elizabeth it was occupied by Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, and Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, receiving their names in turn; and lastly it was the residence of the unfortunate and imprudent Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, and the scene of those frantic actions which ended in his death on the scaffold. The memory of this illustrious occupier is retained in the names of Essex Street, Essex Stairs, and Devereux Court.

"Continuing along the Strand, we come to what was then, as now, the western extremity of the City. Temple Bar was erected in 1670. Previously to the Great Fire, the Strand and Fleet Street were divided by nothing but posts, rails, and chains.

"On the right-hand of Fleet Street was then, as now, that ancient seat of learning, the Temple. The New Temple was in 1324 in the possession of the Knights Hospitallers of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem; and, according to tradition as given by Dugdale, it was regranted to them by Edward III.: they soon afterwards demised it for a rent of £10 a-year to 'divers professors of the Common Law;' it is however doubtful whether it was used for a residence for the lawyers till the time of Richard II.†

A bridge, or landing-place, at the New Temple was the means by which persons coming from the City to the Parliament and Councils at Westminster by water, constantly passed. But I will content myself in this place with an anecdote, mentioned by Fiddes in his Life of Cardinal Wolsey, in reference to the building of the Middle Temple Gate. It seems

* Alluded to in the "Dunciad," book 2.

† Foss, Judges, iv. pp. 26, 258.

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that Sir Amias Powlet,* about the year 1501, thought fit to put Cardinal Wolsey, then parson of Lymington, into the stocks. In 1515, being sent for to London by the Cardinal, on account of that ancient grudge, he was commanded not to quit town till further orders. In consequence, he lodged five or six years in this gateway, which he rebuilt, and, to pacify his Eminence, adorned with the Cardinal's cap, badges, cognisance, and other devices—so low, adds an historian of these events, were the great men obliged to stoop to that meteor of the times. This gate was burnt in the Great Fire.

"The division into the two societies of the Inner and Middle Temple took place before the reign of Henry VI.; and the Garden, a place of great resort, is, according to Shakespeare, the place in which the badges of the White and Red Roses—the distinctive insignia of the houses of York and Lancaster—originated: for in his celebrated play of the First Part of Henry VI., he thus notes it—

> "This brawl to-day,
> Grown to this faction in the Temple Garden,
> Shall send, between the Red Rose and the White,
> A thousand souls to death and deadly night."

"Close to Temple Bar also, and about the place where now stands Child's banking-house, stood the Devil's Tavern, so called from its sign of St. Dunstan seizing the Evil Spirit by the nose with a pair of hot tongs. Chancery Lane, built originally as early as Henry III.'s time, was at first called New Lane. The Inns of Court and the Rolls House were built in the same reign.

"Lincoln's-inn-Fields (called, in one of the statutes of George II.—for what reason I have not been able to ascertain—Cupfield and Pursfield) was surrounded by the mansions of noblemen and gentlemen of quality. Here, on the south side, was Lindsey House, the residence of the Earls of that name, and of their descendants the Dukes of Ancaster; and here, in the middle of the square, on the 21st of July, 1683, the virtuous Lord William Russell was beheaded, he having passed, on his way to the scaffold, Southampton House, the residence of his father-in-law Thomas Wriothesley, the last Earl of Southampton of that name.

"Queen Street was also the residence of many persons of rank. Among others were Conway House, Paulet House, and the house in which Lord Herbert of Cherbury finished his romantic career; and so recently as 1657, where Clare Market now is, was the mansion inhabited by the Earl of Clare, who lived there in a princely manner. The present square, or garden of Lincoln's-inn-Fields, was designed by Inigo Jones in 1618, who, it is said, drew the ground-plot, and gave it the exact dimensions of the base of the pyramids of Egypt.

* Holinshed, p. 918 (who calls him Sir *James*. He was ancestor of Earl Powlett).

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"Eastward of the Temple were the remains of the monastery of the White Friars, in whose chapter-house the Court of Chancery was twice held in the time of Edward III.

"The Temple Church was built in 1185; and of old St. Dunstan's Church the first mention is in 1237.

"Further eastward was Salisbury Court, as it was then called, once the inn or mansion of the Bishops of Salisbury, afterwards the residence of the Sackvilles, by purchase from Bishop Jewel: it was from them called Dorset House, and its former occupants are still remembered in the names of Salisbury Square and Dorset Street. St. Bride's Church, with its new fine steeple, comes next into view. In the early history of the old church, it is represented as having been very small; but, by the pious munificence of William Viner, Warden of the Fleet in 1480, it was greatly enlarged, and then ornamented with carved grapes, vine-leaves, &c. in allusion to his name. Not far, also, from what had been the monastery of Whitefriars, near the west side of Fleet ditch, stood the palace of Bridewell, built by Henry VIII. on the site of the ancient Tower of Mountfichet, which was the residence of several of our monarchs, dating from as early as the time of King John.

"By an easy transition we are brought to the creek then called Fleet ditch, which reached up as far as Holborn Bridge, up to which the tide flowed. Over it, in those days, were no less than four stone bridges, and on the sides extensive quays and warehouses. In scouring this ditch in 1606, at the depth of 15 feet, were found several Roman utensils, and a great quantity of Roman coins, in silver, copper, brass, and other metals, but none in gold. Here also were found numbers of Saxon antiquities, spurs, keys, seals, &c.—in truth quite a mine of archæological riches.

"On the east side of the Fleet stood the Fleet Prison for debtors, founded as early as the first of Richard I., and at or near this point began the City Walls.

"The first Gate in the southern part of the walls was Ludgate, which stood in the middle of Ludgate Hill. In the Old Bailey stood Sydney House, once the residence of the Sydneys, till they removed to Leicester House.*

"From this point the houses and buildings in the time of Queen Elizabeth become much increased, and we begin to find that the population of that day very largely dwelt in the city. In ascending Ludgate Hill, we came to the old Cathedral Church of St. Paul, having a steeple in the form of a spire. Continuing on into Cheapside, which was then a goodly wide street, we came to the ancient cross in Cheapside, about midway between St. Paul's and Bow Church, to the north of which houses very thickly intervened, up to the city walls and the gate of Cripplegate, beyond which was the open country, with the villages of Islington and Hoggesdon in the distance.

* *Spectator*, No. 28.

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"In the vicinity of the Cathedral were Newgate and Giltspur Street, and the neighbourhood where now stands the fine church of St. Sepulchre was then incumbered with a number of old houses and a low population. The church was only a short distance from the gate called Newgate, which from an early date was used as a prison for felons, and rebuilt for that purpose in the reign of Henry V. by Sir Richard Whityngton.

"The district of Aldersgate was remarkable in the reign of Queen Elizabeth for the antiquity and nobleness of its houses. Such were Petre House, London House, Thanet House, Westmerland House, and Shelley House, the last having been built by Sir Thomas Shelley, in the first year of the reign of Henry IV. This house was afterwards rebuilt by Sir Nicholas Bacon in the time of Queen Elizabeth, when it was called Bacon House.

"The Barbican was near to this street, and close to the gate of Cripplegate. The Earls of Bridgewater had a house in the Barbican, the site of which was about where now is Bridgewater Square. In Beech Lane adjacent stood the house of Prince Rupert, and by an account published in a work of the time it appears that Charles II. paid him a visit there. In Golden Lane there stood a row of low houses of singular construction, which, on the authority of an inscription to a print in the possession of the late Mr. Pennant, had been a nursery for the children of Henry VIII.

"I pass on to another of the City gates, called Moorgate, the adjacent precincts of which, known as Finsbury and Moorfields, now covered in every direction with fine buildings and commodious houses of large value, was, in the time of King Edward II., let for four marks a-year. This district was then a watery tract, abounding with wild-fowl, and the place where the citizens exercised themselves in archery and athletic sports; and in 1414 Thomas Fauconer, the mayor, opened the postern in the wall, called Moorgate, to give the citizens a passage into the open country.

"A short detour brings us to Bishopsgate Street, where the Earls of Devonshire had their town-house, in which died William the second Earl of that title, in 1628. It was a large and beautiful mansion, with gardens of pleasure, bowling-alleys, and the like.

"The City gate called Bishopsgate was of very ancient date. Henry III. confirmed to the Hans merchants certain privileges, for which they were bound to support this gate; and in 1479 it was accordingly rebuilt by them; and I have reason to suppose that the White Hart Tavern in Bishopsgate Street Without, which was only a short distance from the ancient gate, and which house was standing only a few years since, was one of the very oldest remains of that kind of old London, its building certainly being of a date earlier than 1480. In London Wall, traces of Roman masonry have been found.

"The street and neighbouring thoroughfare of Houndsditch was then literally a foul ditch; and Duke's Place—formerly, as now, much inhabited by the Jews—is a locality of very ancient date, and stands on the site of

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what was one of the richest priories in England—that of the Holy Trinity; and, according to Fuller's Church History, this priory was, probably for that reason, one of the first selected by Henry VIII. to be dissolved.

"Aldgate, or Old Gate, was one of the four principal gates under which the Roman road originally passed, and must have existed from the earliest times. It was also, according to Stowe, one of the seven gates of the city that had double doors, which fact he deduces from the hinges which existed in his time; and it may not be inappropriate in this place, as a memento of that patriarch of archæology, to mention that near Aldgate lived and died this able historian, and a very interesting monument to his memory remains in the church of St. Andrew Undershaft.

"Vestiges were found in digging for the foundation of the East India Company's warehouses of the noble mansion of Northumberland House, which once existed there, as also the magnificent house built by Sir William Sharington in Mark Lane.

"Proceeding in a southward direction, which was nearly the course of the ancient walls, from Aldgate towards the Thames, we find the street called the Minories, which derives its name from certain religious ladies of the order of St. Clare, or *Minoresses*, invited into England by Blanche Queen of Navarre, wife to Edmund, Earl of Lancaster, who, in 1293, founded here for their reception a convent. This brings us at once to Tower Hill, a place of great notoriety, and to that ancient and venerable fabric—the Tower of London.

"Tower Hill seems to have been nearly surrounded by walls, except that portion of it which opened from the City by way of the Minories, and it is certain that as early as the reign of Edward IV. his officers erected there a gallows. There arose, however, a dispute between the crown and the citizens as to who had the right to the Tower Hill, and it was ultimately decided that the city had the exclusive privilege of hanging, drawing, and quartering, and the culprits were delivered over to the sheriffs accordingly.

"Of the external appearance of the Tower itself it may be remarked, that we have seen no building in the course of our progress that has changed less in its general aspect and stately pretensions. Its fortifications still bid defiance to the intruder; the Traitors' Gate still ominously frowns as if foretelling the fate of those who ascended its gloomy stairs; and above the whole still rises in majesty the magnificent Norman keep, uninjured by the storms of centuries, the most enduring monument of the feudal ages of our metropolis."

Mr. Deputy Lott, F.S.A., called the attention of the Meeting to the objects exhibited, and proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman, which, having been seconded by Mr. Joseph Jennings, F.R.I.B.A., was carried unanimously.

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Objects and Works of Art exhibited.

By Mr. S. H. F. Cox. A collection of Coins, Greybeard Pots, &c., discovered in digging the foundations of the new Militia Depot, City Road.

By Mr. Wilkinson. Various Antiquities discovered in excavations in various parts of London.

By Mr. R. H. Clutterbuck. An ancient Sword, &c.

By Mr. J. W. Brown. Pottery, &c.

ELEVENTH GENERAL MEETING,

Held at Myddelton Hall, Islington, on Wednesday Evening, July 7th, 1858,

GEORGE GODWIN, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A. in the Chair.

The Chairman regretted the unavoidable absence of Colonel and Alderman Wilson, who, in consequence of the illness of a member of his family, had been detained abroad. In taking the chair at this Meeting, he informed them that he had been requested by the Council to do so most unexpectedly by himself, in consequence of his official connection with the district in which they were then assembled. They were aware that the Society was peripatetic, and held its Meetings at various places in London and Middlesex. He then enumerated the places at which the Society had hitherto held Meetings, and stated that all these had been attended with most satisfactory results. Islington, he said, offered a large field for the archæologist, and he hoped that the Society would not terminate their labours in this locality with the present Meeting, but at a future period devote some of their energies to the investigation of its many interesting remains.

Mr. Deputy Lott, F.S.A. read a memoir "On Sir Richard Whityngton."

The author at the outset stated that, with regret, he should have to destroy some of the romance with which the history of this City celebrity has always been connected. In the first place, he remarked that Whityngton could not have been of that obscure and poor parentage which traditionary tales assert, for that in the deeds of foundation and statutes of the college and almshouse established by him, or under his directions, special provision is made for certain religious observances in behalf of the souls of his parents, who are described as "*Sir William Whityngton, knight, and Lady Joan his wife.*" The Calendar of Inquisitions *post mortem* makes mention of one taken in 1372, after the death of a "Joan, wife of William de Whityng-

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ton," and also of another taken in the following year, in which she is described as "Joan, who had been wife of William de Whityngton, *deceased*." These would seem to be the father and mother of Sir Richard; and, it may be observed, if he had reached manhood before they died, his own age at the time of his decease, in 1423, would be thus shown to be a little above seventy. One authority states him to have been born in Shropshire about 1354, while another says he was a native of Lancashire, and was born in 1360. The belief that he belonged to Shropshire is favoured by the fact that that county contains a place called Whityngton, formerly of some note, and from which his surname (as his father was called Sir William *de* Whityngton) may have been derived. The lordship and castle of this place (Whityngton), and the advowson of the church there, were for several generations in the hands of a family of high distinction named Fitzwaryn, and Sir Richard Whityngton married into this family; his wife (as appears by the endowment deeds of his hospital in London) being Alice, daughter of Sir Ivo Fitzwaryn and Dame Matilda his wife. The mother of this Dame Matilda, by a second marriage, became the wife of Lord Maltravers (who died in 1364); she survived him some years, and by her will, made in 1374, left a bequest to the above named Sir Ivo Fitzwaryn and Dame Maud his wife, adding to the latter name the designation "my daughter."

Concerning Richard Whityngton's first settlement in London, no authentic particulars have been discovered; nor are there any very reliable traces of the means by which he acquired his subsequent position of wealth and importance, though no doubt the traditionary account is so far correct, that he owed his advancement to the successful prosecution of trade and commerce. The earliest mention of him which has been found in the City Records is in 1386, when there is an entry, that on the 24th September, 10th Rich. II., he came before the mayor (Sir Nicholas Brembre), the recorder, the aldermen, and common council, and became bound to the chamberlain (Richard Odyham) for ten pounds sterling, to be paid to him or his executors at the feast of St. Michael next coming, in default whereof the amount was to be levied on his lands, tenements, goods, and chattels, according to the custom of the City.

The next notice of him—which seems to be the commencement of his career as a civic functionary—is in 1393, when he was chosen Alderman of the Ward of Broad Street, "by the good men of that ward." At this time the election of Aldermen took place *annually*. On the 21st of September (the feast of St. Matthew the Apostle) in the same year, he was elected one of the sheriffs.

In the year 1394 (during Whityngton's shrievalty) a charter was granted in Parliament, that the aldermen should not thenceforth be removed from their offices during their lives, except for reasonable cause; but that those chosen at the election then about to take place should not assume office until their names were reported to the king and his pleasure taken thereon. In the election made that year, Whityngton was again chosen alderman for

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Broad Street Ward, by the good men of the same ward; all the parties elected were approved by a writ from the King, and the election annually was thenceforth discontinued.

On the 6th of June, 1397, the citizens were deprived of their lord mayor (Adam Bamme) by death; and two days afterwards Whityngton was appointed as his successor, for the remainder of his term of office, by a writ from the King.

On the recurrence of the day for the annual election of mayor, viz. the feast of St. Edward, the King and Confessor (October 13th), Whityngton was chosen by the assembled citizens to fill the office for the succeeding year, and was accordingly sworn in on the 28th of the same month, the feast of the Apostles Simon and Jude.

In 1406 (8th Hen. IV.), he was again elected to the same office for the following year; on which occasion the then mayor, John Woodcock, caused a mass of the Holy Ghost to be celebrated in the Guildhall Chapel before the election; and, at the request of the Commoners, it was on the same day ordained that a similar mass should be celebrated on the day of the election of mayor in after years. This was the origin of the religious observance which is still kept up on that day.

In 1416 (4th Hen. V.), the City Records show Whityngton to have been elected one of the four representatives for the City in a Parliament summoned to be held at Westminster on the 13th of October in that year; although Maitland and other London historians, who profess to give a complete list of the Members for the City, make no mention of this fact.

In 1419 (7th Hen. V.), he was again called by the voice of his fellow-citizens to fill the office of mayor, which he accordingly assumed for the fourth and last time. He continued to take part in the City's affairs until a few months of his decease. The entry of the election of Sheriffs, on the 21st September, 1422, furnishes the last trace of his attendance at any civic assembly, and he died early in the following March. His Will, dated 5th September, 1421, was proved in the Court of Hustings (in the Rolls of which it is still to be seen), on the Monday after the feast of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas (March 7th), 1423, his executors being John Coventre alderman, John White clerk, John Carpenter (the celebrated town clerk, compiler of Liber Albus, and founder of the City of London School), and William Grove.

It appears that Whityngton left no family, and that his wife died some years before him. In his Will he states his residence to be in a house in the parish of St. Michael Paternoster in the Royal, and according to his desire he was buried in the church of that parish, where his wife also lay. He left, for the expenses of decently furnishing his funeral, and for the saying at any vespers after his decease a Placebo et Dirige, and for a mass of Requiem on the morrow, with a commemoration a month afterwards, on behalf of his soul and the souls of his father, his mother, Alice his wife, and of all those for whom he was justly bound to pray, and of all the faithful

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departed, one hundred pounds; he also gave to every poor man, woman, and child, on the day of his exequies, one penny.

Whityngton seems to have acquired considerable wealth, and to have employed it chiefly in deeds of liberality, in patriotic offerings to his sovereign, Henry the Fifth, to meet the exigencies of his wars in France, in works of public utility, and in acts of piety and benevolence to the poor. He, in his lifetime, and by means of his executors after his decease, rebuilt the church of St. Michael Royal, and established a college there for a master and four fellows (priests), with clerks, choristers, &c. together with a hospital or almshouse for thirteen poor men, the chief of whom was called tutor. Statutes and ordinances were made for the government of these establishments and endowments left for their support. The city gate, called Newgate, the common prison for felons, was entirely rebuilt at his expense; so was great part of the hospital of St. Bartholomew; also a spacious library at the house of the Grey Friars, now Christ's Hospital. Out of his possessions the means were furnished for completing the present Guildhall, and for helping to build a "fair and large library" adjoining the Guildhall Chapel, as well as for erecting several bosses for supplying spring water in various parts of the city, and for performing many other good works.

The well-known romance which ascribes Whityngton's good fortune to the exploits of a cat, is to be found applied to other individuals besides him; and it is clearly shown by Mr. Keightley in his "Tales and Popular Fictions," and by other writers, that a similar legend was current in Italy, and in other parts of the world, before it was known in England, and before Whityngton was born. None of the chroniclers or early historians who mention Whityngton notice any such tale in connection with him. The earliest allusion to it which has been found is in the beginning of the reign of James the First. On February 8, 1604, a play was entered on the books of the Stationers' Company by Thomas Pavyer, entitled, "The History of Richard Whittington, of his lowe byrthe and his great fortune; as yt was plaied by the Prynce's Servants;" and on July 6, 1605, a ballad called "The Wondrous Life and Memorable Death of Sir Richard Whityngton, now some time Lord Mayor of the Honourable City of London." In the second part of Thomas Heywood's play on the "Life and Reign of Queen Elizabeth," originally published in 1606, is a scene in which Dr. Nowell, Dean of St. Paul's, introduces a party of friends to his gallery of "good citizens," and amongst them is one of Whityngton, of whom he thus speaks—

> This Sir Richard Whittington, three times mayor,
> Son to a knight, and 'prentice to a mercer,
> Began the library of Gray Friars in London,
> And his executors after him did build
> Whittington College, thirteen almshouses for poor men,
> Repair'd St. Bartholomew's in Smithfield,
> Glaz'd the Guildhall, and built Newgate.

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Upon which one of the party, Hobson, a haberdasher, exclaims—

> Bones a me! then I have heard lies!
> For I have heard he was a scullion,
> And rais'd himself by venture of a cat.

To which Dr. Nowell replies—

> They did the more wrong to the gentleman.

Thus showing that the popular tale was not credited by the better informed classes.

The tradition as to the stone called Whityngton's Stone at the foot of Highgate Hill being designed to mark the resting-place of the runaway youth, whence he heard Bow bells invite him back to London as its future Lord Mayor, seems equally without foundation. It appears that the original stone (which has been twice replaced by others),* is represented in an old "View of Highgate from Upper Holloway" (published in 1745), as the base or plinth of a cross, with part of a pillar still remaining; and that it was in all probability a wayside cross erected for the purpose of attracting the notice and exciting the sympathy of the traveller to the unhappy inmates of a Lazarhouse, or hospital, for the reception of leprous persons, which is proved to have stood near the spot, in a field a little off the road. The hospital was not founded until the 12th Edward IV. 1473, which was long after Whityngton's death, and therefore the cross is not likely to have been of earlier date. The existence of the hospital can be traced down to 1653, when the land, which had belonged to Charles the First, was sold to Ralph Harrison, of London, Esq. and every vestige of the edifice has long been destroyed.

Mr. Deputy Lott's paper comprised a variety of particulars on other topics incidentally connected with Whityngton, and in the course of reading it he acknowledged himself indebted to his friend Mr. Brewer, one of the Members of the Society, and the biographer of John Carpenter, who was one of Whityngton's executors, for much valuable and curious information on the subject of his inquiries.

The Rev. Thomas Hugo, M.A., F.S.A., &c., read a paper on "Mediæval Pilgrimages and their Memorials," and introduced to the notice of the Meeting a collection of Pilgrims' Signs discovered about two years ago near Dowgate, between Blackfriars and London Bridges, contrasting them with some of a very different age said to have been recently discovered at Shadwell. The reader is referred to a paper by the same author on the same collection, printed in the Archæologia, vol. xxxviii.

Professor Tennant read "A description of the Imperial State Crown preserved in the Jewel-house at the Tower of London," which had been

* This subject was first elucidated in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1852, by Thomas Edlyne Tomlins, Esq. author of the valuable work entitled "Yseldon. A Perambulation of Islington, 1858." 8vo.

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prepared subsequently to the visit of the Society to that fortress. It will be found at page 243.

The Rev. Thomas Hugo, F.S.A. proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman, which was seconded by Mr. Henry Mogford, F.S.A. and carried unanimously; and, the Chairman having acknowledged the same, the Meeting terminated.

Objects and Works of Art exhibited.

By Mr. C. H. Elt. A collection of Books and Engravings illustrative of Islington and the neighbourhood.

By Mr. John Franklin. Some Tapestry supposed to have been taken from the Tower of London.

By Mr. W. P. Ivatts. Engravings of Views at Islington.

By the Honorary Secretary. A Drawing and Photographs of a Roman Pavement recently discovered at No. 18, Fenchurch Street, City.

TWELFTH GENERAL (THIRD ANNUAL) MEETING,

Held in the House of the Society of Arts, Adelphi, on Thursday, July 15th, 1858,

JOSEPH ARDEN, Esq., F.S.A., one of the Trustees of the Society, in the Chair.

This being also a Special Meeting, for the consideration of Rule 12 of the Society,

It was proposed by Mr. J. W. Butterworth, F.S.A., seconded by the Rev. Thos. Hugo, F.S.A., and carried,

> "That the words 'In the month of July, in the year 1858, and on the first Thursday in May in every subsequent year, at 3 o'clock P.M.,' be added after the word 'held' in No. 12 of the Society's Rules."

The Honorary Secretary, Mr. Henry W. Sass, then read the following Reports.

REPORT.

In presenting their Third Annual Report to the Members of The London and Middlesex Archæological Society, the Council feel much pleasure in congratulating them on the steady increase of Members, and the general success of the Institution. The number of Members elected during the past year amounts to 79, whereof one is a life-compounder.

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The losses have been 26, of whom three have been removed by death, and 23 by resignation.

Since the publication of the last Report, in July, 1857, the Society has held Three General Meetings for the reading of Papers and other ordinary objects, and one Special General Meeting for the removal of an officer who had ceased to possess the confidence of the Society. On the 5th of October last, a day which will be long remembered in the Society's annals, as one of the most pleasant in the course of its existence, the members, and their friends, to the number of above five hundred, paid a visit to, and spent some most agreeable hours at Hampton Court Palace. Subsequently to this, Meetings have been held at the Rooms of the Architectural Exhibition, in Suffolk Street, Pall Mall, and at Myddelton Hall, Islington. At these Meetings six papers have been read on subjects of considerable archæological interest, and some valuable and curious works of art have been submitted for the inspection of large and appreciating audiences.

The Second Part of the Society's Transactions was published in December last, and the Council feel much gratification in noticing the favourable reception with which the publication has been honoured by the literary portion of the London and provincial press. Another Part will complete the First Volume, which the Council have good reason for thinking will find its place by the side of the most cherished productions which have emanated from our Archæological Societies.

The next portion of the Council's duty is the placing before the Members the following Report of the Auditors and Statement of the financial position of the Society.

AUDITORS' REPORT.

In presenting the accompanying Balance Sheet and Statement of the affairs of the Society, I beg to notify to the Committee of Accounts, from whom I have received the most willing and able assistance, and to the Members generally, that, in consequence of the very imperfect manner in which the accounts of the late Honorary Secretary, the Rev. Charles Boutell, were kept during his period of office, both myself and the Committee (without whose assistance I could not have presented the account and statement) have found the greatest difficulty in arriving at any degree of accuracy.

I have, however, much pleasure in presenting the accounts now submitted to audit, believing them to be substantially correct, and to comprise the accounts from the foundation of the Society to the present time. Considering the infant state of the Society, and the loss which it has unhappily sustained, which, to a Society dependent on such small subscriptions, is of a very serious amount, I may add that it is a matter of congratulation that the present state of its affairs and prospects offers so good an aspect.

The property of the Society, consisting of 250 Nos. of the First Part of its Transactions, and of 400 of the Second Part, remains to be disposed of,

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and forms a fund against the liabilities of the Society. It will materially assist and advance its financial position if its members and their friends would by all the means in their power recommend and assist in the sale of its Publications, a course which would materially promulgate the Society's views, and increase its strength, and would thus enable it to recover from the loss which it has sustained through the late Secretary, the Rev. Charles Boutell.

The amount of Stock, which has been placed in the public funds, according to the Rules of the Society, is intact, and may be regarded, if the Society increases in strength by the addition of Life Members, as the nucleus of a permanent income. The present number of Annual Members, so far as I have been able to ascertain, and without pledging myself to fractional accuracy, consists of 400, and the Life Members 25.

I have only further to add, that, by a proper economy in all things, and a future vigilance over the financial affairs of the Society, I see no reason for supposing but what it will be able to proceed with satisfaction without calling in any way for extraneous assistance, and without increasing the subscriptions or resorting to an entrance fee; a great object of this useful, and at the same time agreeable, Society being to progress by a subscription which comes within the reach of every one.

HENRY NETHERSOLE, *Auditor.*

STATEMENT of the AFFAIRS of the SOCIETY at the present date.

Cr.			£	s.	d.
To Balance at Bankers			36	12	11
Do. in hands of Secretary			5	9	6
Subscriptions in arrear for 1856, 1857, and 1858	69	10	0		
27 Subscriptions for 1856-7 doubtful	13	10	0		
			56	0	0
			£98	2	0

Dr.	£	s.	d.
Due to the following Persons—			
Mr. Mitchener, for Printing	32	15	0
Crow, for Services at Suffolk Street, on occasion of Meeting	1	0	9
Messrs. Nichols, for 2nd Part of Transactions	45	10	9
Rent to Midsummer	5	5	0
Petty Cash due to Honorary Secretary	5	0	10
Balance after Payment of all demands	8	9	8
	£98	2	0

15th July, 1858. JOSEPH ARDEN, *Chairman.*

The PROPERTY of the SOCIETY consists of:

Cash balance as above	8	9	8
250 Copies of Part I. Vol. I. of the Transactions at the Selling Price to Members, 7*s.* 6*d.*	93	15	0
400 Copies of Part II. Vol. I. do. at the Selling Price to Members, 5*s.*	100	0	0
New Three per Cent., one half of the Composition of Life Members invested according to the Rules of the Society	66	13	4
	£268	18	0

15th July, 1858. JOSEPH ARDEN, *Chairman.*

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STATEMENT of ACCOUNTS of the LONDON AND MIDDLESEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY, from the 25th day of March, 1857, when Mr. G. B. WEBB retired from his Office, to the 24th day of June, 1858.

Cr.	£	s.	d.
To Balance at the Bankers at the time of Mr. Webb, the Honorary Secretary, retiring from Office	82	15	10
To the following Subscriptions, &c., received—			
By the late Honorary Secretary, the Rev. Charles Boutell, as far as the Council could ascertain under the Report made 14th day of October, 1857	59	2	3
By the Collector, from 232 Subscriptions	116	0	0
By Mr. H. W. Sass, the Honorary Secretary	23	16	6
Life Composition, Mr. Williams	3	0	0
To Sale of Transactions	1	17	6
Interest from Stock	3	0	0
Fractional differences unaccounted for to balance, arising from the impossibility of tracing accurately the state of the Society's Accounts during the late Hon. Secretary's Official administration	0	12	6
	£290	4	7

Dr.	£	s.	d.
May 7, Surrey Archæological	5	0	0
9, Mr. Mitchener, Printing	2	5	0
June 4, Messrs. Nichols, for Transactions	40	0	0
Mr. Onwhyn	1	0	7
6, Mr. Webb	1	3	3
July 9, Surrey Archæological	5	0	0
10, Petty Cash	5	0	0
Aug. 11, Do.	5	0	0
Since Mr. H. W. Sass's term of Office.			
Nov. 28, Mr. Smither, Postage	4	3	9
30, Mr. Elkington (Room)	3	8	0
Dec. 2, Sundries (Hampton Court)	2	17	6
5, Mr. Ivatts (Collector)	2	4	6
17, Warders of Tower	2	2	0
1858.			
Jan. 7, Mr. Smither, Rent, &c.	10	10	0
Feb. 8, Petty Cash	3	13	6
Messrs. Onwhyn, 12*s.* 6*d.*, Pittman, £1 10*s.*, Aahbee and Dangerfield, 13*s.* 6*d.*, Bebbington, 17*s.* 6*d.*			
Mr. Smither, Postage	4	13	7
16, Mr. Mitchener, Printing	10	0	0
April 8, Messrs. Nichols, for Transactions	29	18	3
10, Mr. Smither	5	5	0
June 4, Archæological Exhibition	4	4	0
Mr. Ivatts	8	11	0
Mr. Stone	6	0	0
July 6, Mr. Utting, Wood Engravings	17	0	0
The loss to the Society so far as the same can be ascertained, through the late Hon. Secretary, The Rev. Charles Boutell	59	2	3
By Cash in hands of Secretary	5	9	6
By Balance at Bankers	36	13	11
	£290	4	7

I have examined the documents and papers connected with the above Account, and believe the same to be substantially correct.

HENRY NETHERSOLE, *Auditor.*

15th July, 1858. JOSEPH ARDEN, *Chairman.*

Although the loss which is apparent in this document can only be accounted for by an explanation which is a source of much and heartfelt grief to the Council, they feel that the Members at large have a right to demand it at their hands. Notwithstanding the heavy defalcations alluded to of the late Secretary, the Rev. Charles Boutell, the Society may be considered in a prosperous condition, and only requiring the care and intelligent support of its members and friends to become a very large and popular body. It is, however, essential that all persons who feel an interest in the

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subjects of its study should continue to employ every means in their power to strengthen its hands, promote its extension, and enlarge its influence.

By Order of the Council,

HENRY WILLIAM SASS, *Hon. Sec.*

Resolved,—"That the name of the Rev. Charles Boutell be inserted whenever he is alluded to as the late Honorary Secretary, and that the Report so amended be received and adopted."

Resolved,—"That the Patrons, President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, and Trustees, be re-elected to their respective offices, and that Mr. Henry W. Sass be elected Honorary Secretary."

Resolved,—"That the following gentlemen be Members of the Council for the ensuing year:—

Mr. A. Ashpitel.
Mr. Charles Baily.
Mr. Joshua W. Butterworth.
The Rev. Henry Christmas.
Mr. R. Cole.
Mr. E. W. Cooke.
Mr. W. D. Cooper.
Mr. James Crosby.
Mr. F. W. Fairholt.
Mr. T. Duffus Hardy.
Mr. Robert Hesketh.
The Rev. Thomas Hugo.
Mr. Deputy Lott.
Mr. H. Mogford.
Mr. John Gough Nichols.
Mr. Chas. Reed.
Mr. Edw. Richardson.
Mr. Wm. Tayler.
Mr. John Whichcord.
Mr. Alfred White.

Resolved,—"That Mr. George Freeman and Mr. W. H. Judd be elected Auditors."

Resolved,—"That the thanks of the Meeting be given to the Officers of the past year."

Resolved,—"That the attention of the Council be again directed to a former Resolution of November 27th, 1857, and that the Council do take such measures as may seem to them necessary for carrying out the same."

Resolved,—"That the Report of the Council and Auditors, and the Financial Statement of the affairs of the Society, be printed and sent to Members, and that the Balance-Sheet, and amended List of Members, be printed and circulated after each Annual Meeting in the month of May."

Resolved,—"That the thanks of the Society by given to the officials of Hampton Court Palace, to the Committee of the Architectural Exhibition, and to the Council of the Society of Arts, for the use of their rooms during the past year for the Meetings of the Society."

Resolved,—"That the Report of the proceedings of this Meeting be inserted as an advertisement in the *Times*, the *Builder*, the *Building News*, the *Morning Post*, the *Court Circular*, the *Daily Telegraph*, and the *City Press*."

Resolved,—"That the thanks of the Meeting be given to Joseph Arden, Esq., F.S.A. for his kindness in taking the Chair."

Which being carried by acclamation, the Meeting separated.

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THIRTEENTH GENERAL MEETING,

Held at Enfield, on Thursday, October 20, 1858.

JACOB VALE ASBURY, Esq., in the Chair.

It had been announced that this meeting would be held in the School-house, but by the kind invitation of the Vicar, the Rev. John Moore Heath, M.A., (though himself away from home,) the company assembled in the library of the Vicarage, where they had the gratification of examining the remarkable collection formed by Mr. Heath of the works of the early Netherlandish and German masters in oil painting, and described by Dr. Waagen, in his "Galleries and Cabinets of Art in Great Britain," 8vo. 1857, pp. 313—318.

In the absence of Lord Ebury, (who was to have presided,) Jacob Vale Asbury, esq. of Enfield, took the chair.

The meeting was first addressed by the Rev. THOMAS HUGO, F.S.A., who took a brief review of the principal objects of interest in the parish. Among these was Durant's house or harbour, burnt down some years ago, the residence of Judge Jeffries, who was educated at the grammar school. Forty Hall, built by Sir Hugh Fortie, between 1629 and 1632, was designed by Inigo Jones, but modernized by the Wolstenholme family in 1700. The old gateway and stables are still standing; they present a beautiful example of red brickwork, for which Enfield was noted at the time of their erection, and of which several specimens still remain. White Webbs House was hired by the conspirators in the Gunpowder Plot, but very little of it remains. There were three lodges in Enfield Chase used as hunting-seats during the reigns of Queen Elizabeth, James, and Charles I.

Enfield Palace was built by Sir John Lovell, Knight of the Garter, and Privy Councillor to King Henry VII. It still possesses several noble rooms enriched with handsome ceilings, and two fine Elizabethan chimney-pieces (of which there are etchings in Robinson's History of Enfield).

The church, which is dedicated to St. Andrew, was founded in 1136. It abounds in monuments, the chief of which are those to Joyce lady Tiptoft, the Rayntons, Palmers, Evingtons, Stringers, Dixons, Middelmores, Delcrowes, Sheffards, Riches, and various benefactors to the parish, fully described in Dr. Robinson's History: there are also a few monumental brasses and mural tablets, one of which has a Latin inscription in memory of John Abernethy, the celebrated surgeon.

Some remarks on the history and antiquities of the parish of Enfield* and its most eminent inhabitants were next read by Mr. JOHN TUFF, M.P.S.

* Mr. Tuff has subsequently published a small volume entitled "Historical, Topographical, and Statistical Notices of Enfield. With a Map copied from the Reports of the Superintending Inspectors of the Board of Health. 1858." 8vo.

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Mr. John Gough Nichols, F.S.A. then read a slight sketch of the biography of Richard Gough, esquire, Director of the Society of Antiquaries, who for the greater part of his life was a resident at Enfield. Mr. Gough was born in 1735 at Winchester house near Moorfields, once the town mansion of the Marquess of Winchester, erected on the site of the house of Austin friars,—a proper cradle for an antiquary. He lost his father, who was a Director of the East India Company and M.P. for Bramber, in 1751; and in early life was characterised by shy and retired, but very studious, habits, under all the disadvantages of his position as an only son brought up at home by an indulgent but punctilious mother. The general love of knowledge which he cherished from early youth was directed to the pursuit of English antiquities whilst he was a member of Benet college, Cambridge, where the example of their great benefactor, archbishop Parker, still influenced the society. At that period of his life Mr. Gough commenced the collection of books and prints of British Topography; and he pursued the study by making frequent tours in all parts of the kingdom; during which he filled his note-books with his own observations and sketches of ancient remains. It was to the sepulchral monuments of former times that his taste was more especially devoted, and among the first that he caused to be represented in his truly magnificent plates was that of the Lady Tiptoft at Enfield. Among many minor publications, Mr. Gough's three great works were,—his Catalogue of British Topography, first published in 1768, and again in 1780; his edition of Camden's Britannia, published in three volumes folio, 1789; and the Sepulchral Monuments of Great Britain, which forms five folio volumes, in which the subject is brought down to the close of the fifteenth century.

Upon the death of his mother in 1774, Mr. Gough became possessed of the estate at Potters Ware, near Forty Hill, in Enfield parish, which had been originally purchased by his father in 1723, and was subsequently enlarged by an adjoining piece of land, on which have been recently erected a group of houses called Gough Park. Here he resided until his death in 1809, and his widow remained there long after: upon her death in the year 1833 the mansion was sold to Rees Price, esq. and it is now the residence of Miss Child. The grave of Mr. and Mrs. Gough is in the neighbouring church of Wormley in Hertfordshire, where he had for some years attended the ministrations of his friend the Rev. Mr. Maculloch.

For the accommodation of his large library Mr. Gough added a wing to his house,* and which was also made the depository of various antiquarian relics. Of the latter Mr. J. G. Nichols introduced the following descrip-

* Mr. Gough's Topographical books were bequeathed to the University of Oxford and placed in a distinct apartment at the Bodleian Library. they are described in a Catalogue printed in 1814. 4to. His miscellaneous books were dispersed by auction in 1810.

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tion, copied from a paper in Mr. Gough's own handwriting, and hitherto unpublished :—

Mr. Gough's Description of the Antiquarian Relics in his Library.

"The side of the room where the doors are is entirely British Topography. The large red books prints of the same.

"Over the chimney a compartment of the chimney-piece of the state parlour in the palace at Theobalds, where James I. died, representing him in the character of Minerva putting the giants to flight, oversetting Idolatry with her ram for sacrifice and censer, and restoring true Religion, with the bible in her hand. It is of Florentine workmanship, the stone from Cambridgeshire or Bedfordshire. To the frame hangs one of the oldest funeral atchievements.

"On each side sepulchral brasses.

"The satyr is a Roman antique from the station at Castor, near Norwich.

"Over the bureau an Indian idol from the island of Elephanta near Bombay. The dragons on each side are Chinese bronze.

"To the left an inscription in old Numidian characters from Morocco. A Greek funereal one from the same place.

"A cast of the bronze head of Apollo, found at Bath 1720, where since his temple has been found.

"An antient Greek inscription.

"A Roman ditto from Morocco.

"Two others from the same.

"A bronze arm from the East.

"Indian bows, arrows, and lances.

"A helmet from a neighbouring church.

"In the windows, the three upper coats of arms in the left, and the six upper in the right, from an old house in Shoreditch, the supposed mansion-house of one of the Lord Mayors, of the date on them.

"The Descent from the Cross and Laying in the Sepulchre, from a cottage in Hertfordshire. The date over the latter from Winchester 1499; the motto below, and repeated over, R.S. the initials of Robert Sherborne, master of St. Cross Hospital there. The smaller royal arms in oval, and the fleur-de-lis and E.R. from a palace formerly at Enfield,* where Edward the Sixth and Queen Elizabeth resided. The two coats on each side are of the Lovels, who had a house here. The rest are miscellaneous. A merchant's mark. The expulsion of Adam from paradise. Flemish stories. The crescent and fetter-lock, and the leaf P, badges and devices of the Percy family, from an old castle of theirs in Yorkshire."

Such is the Antiquary's brief and summary description of his own museum, probably written to satisfy the curiosity of occasional visitors, who might

* Engraved in Robinson's Enfield.

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come in his absence and make inquiries which his family and servants would have been at a loss to answer. When he received his friends in person he had doubtless much more to tell them respecting the objects in his collection, each of which would suggest a theme for the outpouring of abundant stores of information and anecdote.

Mr. John Gough Nichols remarked, in conclusion, that it might gratify the curiosity of some of those present to be informed that the stone chimney-piece from the palace of Theobalds, described by Mr. Gough, is still preserved. It is now at the residence of Mr. Nichols, at Hanger Hill, Ealing, in this county; who also possesses Mr. Gough's cast of the Roman bust of Apollo found at Bath, and some of his collection of stained glass, particularly the armorial coats of the Bowyers, from their mansion at Norton Folgate.* Mr. Nichols likewise preserves the boards painted with a representation of the Last Judgment, which were removed from Enfield church, and placed by Mr. Gough in one of his out-houses. There is a slight engraving from these pictures in Robinson's History of Enfield.

Mr. Asbury, the Chairman, then gave some observations on the geological formation of the neighbourhood of Enfield, and exhibited some specimens from his collection.

The company afterwards proceeded to view the Church, from thence to the Charity or Grammar School, and the Palace, now the Palace School, where Mr. Barker, the present proprietor, most courteously allowed them to wander at will to examine the ceilings, the chimney-pieces, the oak-panelling, and the gigantic cedar planted in the reign of Charles II.

After an inspection of an old mansion now the railway station, which is a very fine specimen of Jacobean brickwork, the party proceeded to dinner at Jarvis's, by the side of the New River, where about fifty assembled, among whom was a fair proportion of ladies.

FOURTEENTH GENERAL MEETING,

Held at the Marylebone Literary and Scientific Institution, Edwards Street, Portman Square, on Wednesday, February 9th, 1859,

JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS, Esq., F.S.A. in the Chair.

A letter was read by the Honorary Secretary from Mr. George Mackenzie, "On the site of the Roman camp of Suetonius at Islington," of which the following is an abstract:—

"On the north side of London, within the distance of a mile from the Angel at Islington, is Barnsbury Square. Nearly in the line of the

* Fully described in the Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica, vol. iii. p. 154.

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south side of the square, was existing within my memory the southern ditch of the camp—it is difficult to recollect dimensions—but I should say somewhere about twenty feet wide and eight feet deep. Following the south side of the square, a small turfed inclosure at the south-west corner will be reached, and thereabouts the ditch turned to the northward. A marked depression may still be observed in the ground of the gardens behind the houses on the western side of the square; that depression shows the old ditch; thus the inclosed area of the camp included part of the houses on the west side of the square. The east and part of the north sides of the camp were obliterated before my recollection by excavations for brickmaking purposes, and a large extent of ground now filled up was nearly as low as the bottom of the fosse, and much below the inclosed area of the camp.

"Westward of the western fosse was a very conspicuous mound or outwork lying north and south, or nearly so, or parallel to the ditch in that part. From thence the ground sloped away rapidly to the valley of the Fleet, one point of which bore the name of 'Battle Bridge,' till within the present century; a memento apparently of the proceedings of the invaders in connection with their encampment on the high ground above, from whence they may probably have descended to meet the forces of Boadicea.

"Traces of the western outwork may be looked for in the ground now variously occupied by houses, gardens, and a public roadway between Barnsbury Square and the backs of the houses in Hemingford Road.

"Readers of Pepys and other old diarists may discover that Islington was resorted to by pleasure-seekers in olden times as Sydenham in the present day. Copenhagen House appears to have been built for their reception very early in the eighteenth, if not at the end of the seventeenth, century; it was half a mile further out in the fields going from the village than the Roman Camp (very close indeed to the spot where the central bell-tower of the New Cattle Market stands at present). Islington also was long famous for the production of milk. What if the London-born poet, John Milton, had in his mind the site we have been treating of when he wrote about—

———— walking not unseen
By hedge-row elms on hillocks green,
* * * * *
And the milkmaid singeth blythe
* * * * *
The *upland* hamlets will invite
* * * * *
And young and old come forth to play
On a sunshine holiday.

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How came he to think of 'hillocks green' for the elms to grow upon rather than banks? Would not the grass-grown earthworks of our Roman Camp have particularly well suited the expression?"

Several gentlemen made remarks on the subject, and it was suggested by the Chairman that the site alluded to might possibly be that of a moated manor-house rather than a Roman camp.*

The Rev. THOMAS HUGO read a paper on the "Frauds of Antiquity Dealers, and especially the dealers in so-called London Antiquities," of which the following are the principal points:—

"There are few occasions on which an archæologist feels more annoyance and mortification than in discovering that some favourite object, some delight of his eye and gem of his cabinet, asserted to have been found in a locality which imparts a special glory of its own to the interest of the thing itself, is either a fabrication of modern fraud, or an exotic from some widely different neighbourhood.

"Such mortification has often been the lot of collectors of general antiquities, and of those especially who have affected to select objects from some particular and exclusive locality. Nor, truth to say, is his province a grateful one, or his interference viewed in general with much complacency, who attempts to enlighten the victim of such imposition, and who affixes to the forgery the condemnation which is its due.

"There is, however, no locality, in England at least, where such a topic is more necessary to be discussed than in that which is the scene of our Society's labours. There are many enthusiastic collectors of London antiquities, whose desire to possess specimens of their forefathers' handicraft is greater than their judgment in the discrimination of the articles submitted to them. I say this, I hope, without offence. And they are very frequently the victims, accordingly, of the most shameless and unprincipled imposture.

"As I have seen a good deal for some years past of this system, and as a warning may not be without its use, I trust the Society will forgive me, if I enter somewhat into a matter which to all students of the objects about which we are met to confer cannot but be one of the greatest importance.

"If collectors apply to the recognised dealers in antiquities, there are I believe very few, if any, who will not honestly admit their doubt, if they have any, of the genuineness of any particular article. I for one at least have always found it so; and I therefore disclaim any wish to cast a slur

* The same opinion was entertained by the topographical inquirers of the last century. In a letter written in 1769, addressed by Edward Forster, Esq. to the Editor of Camden, occurs this passage: "I have lately been at our camp near Islington. Can you find any account of any Saxon or Old English mansion on that spot? if you can, I have no doubt but what the antiquaries call the Prætorium has been the site of such a building. Part of one side of the camp is all that really remains; one angle may be traced."—Nichols's Literary Illustrations of the History of the Eighteenth Century, vol. v. p. 283.

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or suspicion on this branch of legitimate trade. There are some fraudulent dealers in every department, and it would be too much to expect absolute and invariable rectitude in this single class.

"The chief objects of forgery are Roman Coins, and implements, particularly stone implements, of primæval antiquity. No one at all acquainted with the subject can turn over a large collection of so-called Roman coins without observing specimens of modern manufacture. It is, however, the most difficult thing in the world, perhaps impossible, to describe in words the difference between a genuine object in metal and a fictitious one, especially where the latter is fabricated for the purpose of fraud. In the case of coins, they are moulded from genuine specimens; or of other objects, they are either produced in a similar manner, or are without distinctive character, and claim to be genuine from being found in company with others which are unmistakeably so. And these particulars sufficiently show the ease with which collectors, especially the young ones, may be deceived. I would, however, simply draw attention to one point. If the only trace of age visible on an object asserted to be ancient may be produced by chemical agents, or rough usage, it need hardly be said that it is a *primâ facie* case against such object being genuine. That is invariably the case with forged coins and metallic objects in general. And were it not for the employment of these agents, the occupation of the forgers would be gone.

"With regard to stone objects of primæval ages, it will hardly be believed by those ignorant of the fact, that, for several years past, a manufactory of such things has existed in Yorkshire. The archæological world was lately startled by the exposure for sale of a quantity of flint articles, for which, in the first place, extravagant prices were demanded, and which produced a golden harvest to their vendors. These objects were exceedingly well, indeed too well, made, and attracted attention even by their beauty. Arrow-heads, spear-heads, forks, and combs were conspicuous; and many a northern gentleman saw them to his cost. Some found their way to London, principally from purchasers who entertained a slight qualm about their treasures when they found that they could be procured to order, and that any uncommon form that was suggested could be 'discovered' at a few days' notice. Suspicion was soon changed to certainty. A gang, as I have heard, were found actually at work, with a great magazine of implements ready cut and chipped for the southern market. Happily for the ignorant, this atrocity was discovered in time.

"I mention this instance because it was intended to impose upon zealous students of archæology. From this you may judge of the wholesale delusion practised successfully on the public at large.

"It is not, however, of mock antiquities that London collectors have most to complain. The fraud practised upon them is of a different kind. To collectors of this class, the locality in which the objects are discovered is, of course, of essential importance, and it is in this direction that im-

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posture is too often practised. I was myself a witness, some years ago, during the formation of New Cannon Street, of such a series of impositions, that I drew the attention of the Society of Antiquaries to the subject, in a letter to the President, which is printed in the third volume of that Society's Proceedings. The rage for collecting was at its height. No questions were asked, nor hardly any hesitation in giving absurd sums for anything that was offered. The workmen employed in the excavations soon found the quarters where they might deposit any amount of so-called discoveries, which of course were represented as genuine London Antiquities. Antiquities they were—genuine antiquities, hundreds of them. But they never saw the light of London till they were brought thither for the very purpose which they then and thus fulfilled. The men knew what their employers desired, and acted accordingly. The locality attached to the specimens was, in multitudes of instances, as fictitious as their real antiquity was unquestionable.

"Of course, where money can be obtained the means will not be wanting of supplying any demand. Excavators who had been employed on half the railways in England, and had worked where men of former times had been before them, made valuable use of their formerly acquired spoils. Fragments of pottery from the New Forest and from hundreds of other localities, and whole vessels from the Pan Rock, were brought out of their lurking places, and made to do duty as discoveries in Budge Row and Bush Lane!

"A dealer of great respectability assured me that he knew a source from whence a couple of workmen succeeded in purchasing a sackful of Roman lamps, and other specimens of fictile manufacture, previously brought from Italy, which were turned to this shameful use. Every morning the excavators dug a hole in a spot to which they should arrive in the course of the day's labour, and placed therein a portion of their wares. These they triumphantly dug out a few hours afterwards, and sold each evening, all wet and muddy,—and so, unmistakably genuine—as the fortunate and happy result of the day's labour! And the prices they received gave them plenty of encouragement to repeat the villany on the following day.

"Sometimes, however, they went beyond the mark. I was in company with a well-known friend on one occasion, when an excavator brought for sale a Burmese idol of gilded alabaster, wet, and covered with mud, of course, which he gravely assured us had been just discovered. A threat, however, of bringing him before the authorities at the Mansion House had the happy effect of making him a little more communicative. He then condescended to inform us of the mode in which it reached his hands. A 'mate' of his—(for you will never find one of these individuals go nearer than he can help to himself in a case of this kind)—a 'mate' of his had had it given to him by a gentleman at some India merchant's office in the city; the said 'mate' was gone back to Ireland, and he himself

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could not describe more clearly the place from which it was in all probability stolen.

"Then the well-known collection of Etruscan antiquities at Englefield Green, dispersed by auction some years back, furnished many specimens of 'London Antiquities.' It used to be no uncommon thing to see such articles displayed in the windows of city shops, whose owners had a taste that way, purporting to be from the excavations in the neighbourhood. Not more than a year ago there were several very handsome Etruscan vases so exhibited in the window of a shop in King William Street, London Bridge.

"The inference which I would draw from these facts is one, if the Society will permit me to suggest it, of respectful warning. There are two ways in which the mortification that must ensue on the discovery of these shameless impositions may be obviated.

"First, I would advise collectors not to do their work by deputy. It is only by close personal care, and frequent presence at the scene of the excavations, that anything like a certainty can be arrived at that the objects are really found at the place asserted. I am, of course, supposing that the collector is so far instructed in Archæological science as to be able to form an opinion on the objects submitted to his notice. Some objects, as we have seen, proclaim at once the impossibility of their having been found in particular localities. But in the case of antiquities against which there is no reasonable ground of suspicion, the most satisfactory course is that personal examination of the locality and that oversight of the workmen that will make collusion difficult, if not impossible. A person on the spot can see without difficulty the real nature of the soil in which the excavations are made, and can judge with accuracy whether or not it has been previously tampered with. I am persuaded that an unwillingness to purchase objects from workmen, or from those persons who are known to be in league with them, and a determination, whenever practicable, to investigate personally the course of excavations, would result in the prevention of many of those impostures of which collectors have been so frequently the sufferers.

"I have no reason, for my own part, to complain of the unwillingness of the workmen to receive such visits, if the visitors are willing to pay a fair and proper price for the objects found in their presence. It is only when they are conscious of an attempt on the part of their visitors to enrich themselves at their expense, that the spirit of resistance is evoked, and subsequent unpleasantness results.

"The second suggestion which I would humbly offer is this,—that some moderation should be shown in the prices paid. The workmen have been spoiled by the collectors. The most absurd demands are often made for rubbish that would deserve no place in any collection, that tells no tale, that illustrates no history, nor communicates a scrap of information on

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the ecclesiastical, social or political life of bygone times. This state of things, I repeat, collectors have brought upon themselves; and every fresh folly in the same direction tends to perpetuate that disgraceful system which it is my present object to expose.

"As long as gentlemen allow themselves to give high prices for antiquities brought to them by the workmen, so long of course will those workmen be tempted to deceive. There is also another, and I am sure it will be held very cogent, reason against the demands too frequently made; for the solicitation of a high price is a *prima facie* evidence that the specimen was not really found by the person offering it for sale, but has cost him some outlay.

"I therefore suggest that a steady refusal be maintained against all attempts at extorting prices which are not warranted by the circumstances under which they are made.

"If we desire to form a museum of the antiquities of our metropolis, and there is no more interesting field within the length and breadth of England, we must, on the one hand, cheerfully encounter a close acquaintance with the mud of London excavations, and put off all squeamishness in regard of the places and persons with whom we may come in contact; and, on the other, we must have the courage to forego the acquisition even of a tempting object when it comes to us with the dubious authority of an unknown excavator, and the questionable addition of an unreasonable price."

Mr. Wm. Tayler, F.S.S. read a paper on the Borough of Marylebone, past and present.

"In the time of Elizabeth, the place wherein we now sit, and for miles around, was simply fields, and it will be seen on reference to the Map which is now before you, of the date of 1545, (the original of which is in the Sutherland Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford,) that there were, literally, no buildings whatever upon it or near to it. I may here mention, as a preliminary to the subject more immediately before us, as to the actual appearance and condition of the metropolis, generally, in early times, we have little more than conjectural and piecemeal information. We may, however, easily picture to ourselves what London must have been, even in the first half of the sixteenth century, when the act for improving and paving the City, in 1532, describes the streets as "very foul, and full of pits and sloughs, very perilous and noyous, as well for all the king's subjects on horseback, as on foot with carriages."

"In the time of Elizabeth, at Saint Giles's, where began Tybourn Road, which led to Marylebone and the well-known place of execution, there was a small church, which was then literally 'in the Fields,' a few houses only being in its immediate vicinity, with the wide and open country beyond towards the west and north; and even at the beginning of the last century, according to Mr. Lysons, in his 'History of the Environs of

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London,' Marylebone was a small village nearly a mile from any part of the metropolis.

"In 1626, Queen Henrietta Maria was compelled by her priests to take a walk, by way of penance, to Tybourn. What her offence was we are not told; but Charles was so disgusted at this insolence, that he soon after sent them and all her majesty's French servants out of the kingdom.

"In ancient times, it was customary to present to malefactors on their way to the gallows (which, about the year 1413, was removed from Smithfield and placed between Saint Giles's High Street and Hog Lane), a great bowl of ale, as the last refreshment they were to receive in this life. Such a custom, I may mention, also prevailed at York, which gave rise to the saying that the saddler of Bawtry was hanged for leaving his liquor. Had he stopped as usual, his reprieve, which was actually on the road, would have arrived in time enough to have saved him.

"In the time of Edward the Third, Tybourn was called the Elms; but the original name, as it has been for centuries, was Tybourne, not from *tye* and *burn*, as some have supposed, as the scene of capital punishments, but from an abridged pronunciation of *th' eye bourne*, that is, the water brook. It gave name to a manor, before the Conquest, when it was held by the abbess of Berking (or Barking), in Essex. Here was also a village and church dedicated to Saint John the Evangelist, which fell into decay and was succeeded by that of Marybourne, some time corrupted into Mary la bonne, and now into Marylebone.

"It appears that in the year 1400 Bishop Braybrooke granted a licence to remove the old Church of Tybourn dedicated to Saint John. This church is represented as standing in a lonely place near the highway (the locality of which, it is clearly established, was near the site of the present Court House), and at the corner of Stratford Place, and it is also described as then subject to the depredations of robbers, who frequently stole the images, bells, and ornaments; and the bishop directs by his licence a new church of stones or flints to be built, near the place where a chapel had been then lately erected, which chapel might in the meantime be used.

So early as 1238, the brook called Mary Bourne furnished nine conduits for supplying the city of London with water. The Lord Mayor had a banqueting house at the Conduit Mead, about the spot where now stands Stratford Place, to which his lordship and brethren were wont to repair on horseback, attended by their ladies in waggons, and after viewing the conduits they returned to the city, where they were magnificently entertained by the Lord Mayor. The corporation possesses to this day considerable estates in this vicinity.

"It was near the same spot that, a few days ago, a remarkable discovery occurred in connection with the ancient conduits. During an excavation that was made in front of a public house at the east corner of South Molton Street, at the depth of about six feet below the pavement, occurred the pieces of sculptured stone which are here represented.

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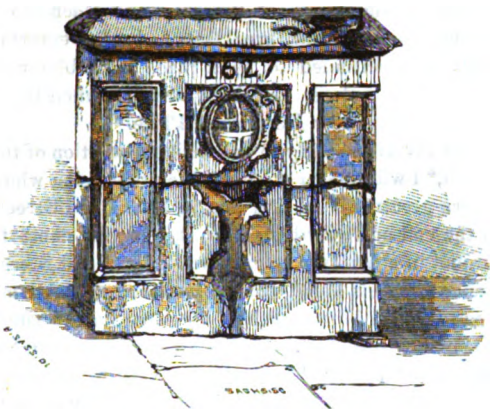

They evidently formed the front of one of the conduit heads, or bosses as they were then termed, from which a water supply was offered to the way-farer,—the public fountain of the reign of Charles the First. This structure was decorated with the arms of the City of London, above which is the date 1627. Its height is 4 feet 7 inches, and its width 4 feet. The roof projects 2 inches on each side, making the extreme width at top 4 feet 4 inches. This interesting relic is now preserved in the Marylebone stone-yard, in Richmond Street, Maida Hill.

"One of the most remarkable existing features of Old Marylebone is the original field-way called Marylebone Lane, which, leaving Oxford Street by the side of the Court House and other parochial offices, bends its sinuous course towards the north-west, intersecting Wigmore Street and the other rectilinear modern streets of that neighbourhood, until it at last emerges into the broad roadway of the High Street, which by the superior architecture of its houses, with a certain air of old respectability, asserts its former importance as the heart and centre of the once suburban village.

"It was here, considerably to the north of the ancient church of St. John, that the new church of St. Mary was erected, which was licensed by Bishop Braybrooke in the year 1400. This latter structure continued till 1741, when, on account of its ruinous state and diminutive size, it was rebuilt and enlarged; but its interior still partially exists, as represented by Hogarth in the marriage-scene of his Rake's Progress, published in 1735. This was the parish church until 1817, when the present magnificent structure, erected in the New Road, by Thomas Hardwick, was completed: but the former is still preserved as a parochial chapel.

"Opposite this old Church stood the Manor House, pulled down in 1791; and behind that mansion, at some short distance, was a tavern and bowling-green, which was much frequented by persons of rank in the time

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of Queen Anne, but grew afterwards into such disrepute, that Gay, in his 'Beggar's Opera,' made it one of the scenes of Macheath's orgies. The gardens were opened for public breakfasts and other entertainments about the year 1740, and continued to be a place of public resort, under the name of Marylebone Gardens, till the year 1777, when the whole was let, and the site since occupied by Devonshire Place.

"Having thus adverted briefly to the ancient condition of this now densely populated parish,* I will offer a sketch of the progression which has brought it to its modern greatness. I find that in 1700 Bond Street was built no further than the end of Clifford Street. It took its name from the proprietor, a baronet of a family now extinct. New Bond Street was then an open field, called Conduit Mead, from the conduits already mentioned; and Conduit Street, built in 1718, received its name for the same reason.

"In 1716 Hanover and Cavendish Squares were unbuilt, but their names appear on the plans of London in 1720. Oxford Street, from Princess Street eastward, as far as Saint Giles's, had only a few houses on the north side, and the roadway is described by Pennant as a deep hollow road, and full of sloughs, with here and there a rugged house, the lurking place of cutthroats, insomuch so, says the same authority, that he never was taken that way by night in his hackney coach, to a worthy uncle's, who gave him lodgings for the night, in George Street, but he went in dread the whole way, and, he adds, 'I will sum up the description of this part of the parish by mentioning that the late Carew Mildmay, esquire, who, after a very long life, died a few years ago, used to say that he remembered killing a woodcock on the site of Conduit Street.'

"In the year 1715 a plan was formed for building Cavendish Square, and several streets on the north of Tybourn Road. In 1717 or 1718 the ground was laid out, the circle in the centre inclosed, and the equestrian statue of William Duke of Cumberland erected. The row of houses on the north side of Tybourn Road was completed in 1729, and it was then called Oxford Street. About the same time most of the streets leading out of Cavendish Square were built, and the ground laid out for several others, viz., Vere Street, Holles Street, Margaret Street, Cavendish Street, Harley Street, Wigmore Street, Mortimer Street, &c. named from the names, titles, and family estates of the noble houses of Oxford and Newcastle. Maitland says, that in his time (1739) there were 570 houses only in the parish of Saint Marylebone, which chiefly consisted of pasture fields.

"In 1770 the continuation of Harley Street was begun, and Mansfield Street, on ground where had formerly been a basin of water. Soon afterwards Portland Place was built, which at that time was considered one of the finest streets in London, and, although not very remarkable for beauty of architecture, it was formerly, from its agreeable position and pure air

* For further historical particulars see "A Topographical and Historical Account of the Parish of Saint Mary-le-bone, by Thomas Smith. 1833." 8vo.

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from Hampstead and Highgate, which are seen to the north, much used as a promenade for the rank and fashion of the town. Its noble width was, however, partly owing to an accident, from a clause in the lease held by the then Lord Foley of the Duke of Portland, which prevented the building a street to interrupt the view of Foley House.

"The very pleasant and agreeable site, upon which so many noble edifices overlooking the park now stand, denominated Park Lane, was called originally Tybourn Lane, until its more fashionable inhabitants changed the name; and the Crescent, which is now called Cumberland Place (originally intended for a circus), was begun about 1774.

"From 1786 till the commencement of the French War, the buildings increased in Marylebone very rapidly, and all the Duke of Portland's property, except one farm, was let on building leases, and the buildings on the north-west part became equally numerous.

"Portman Square was, at the time of its erection, considered the handsomest in London; it was, however, laid out only in 1764, and it was nearly twenty years before the whole was completed. The several squares to the west of Portman Square, which comprised the noble estate of Lord Portman, have, I doubt not, been built within the memory of many persons present; and I may add as a personal reminiscence, that I remember conversing with an inhabitant of Marylebone who had himself rented a portion of the ground on which Bryanston Square now stands, so recently as 1815, as a cabbage garden."

Objects and Works of Art exhibited.

By Dr. Purland. A case of London Antiquities collected by himself in various localities.

By Professor Tennant. Photographs of the Imperial Crown, which had been taken by permission of Her Majesty, to illustrate his paper, read at Islington.

By Mr. Ash. Some Rubbings of Brasses from Edmonton Church.

FIFTEENTH GENERAL MEETING,

Being the first of a Series of Meetings for the Investigation of the Antiquities of the City of London, assembled in the Court Room, Christ's Hospital, on Wednesday, April 13th, 1859,

The Hon. and Right Rev. the LORD BISHOP OF CARLISLE in the Chair.

The Company met in the Court-room of Christ's Hospital, and were received by William Gilpin, Esq., Treasurer, George Trollope, Esq., &c.

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Letters from H. R. H. the Duke of Cambridge, the Duke of Buccleuch, the Marquess of Salisbury, Lord Londesborough, Lord Talbot de Malahide, and other noblemen taking an interest in the subject of archæology, were read, in which they regretted their unavoidable absence.

The Rev. THOMAS HUGO, M.A., F.S.A, read a paper on Christ's Hospital, of which the following is a summary:—

"In presenting a sketch of the history of so well-known an institution as that within the precincts of which we are now assembled, I claim no merit, save that of placing before you in one collection the scattered notices of former writers. Dugdale and Stevens, among authors of the past, and Trollope and Nichols, among those of our own day, have left little or nothing to reward the labours of subsequent explorers. It may serve, however, to make our visit more agreeable, and our examination more instructive, if I remind you of a few of the more memorable points in the eventful history of this very remarkable place.

"It was in the year 1224, that a deputation of nine of the fraternity of Franciscans, or Grey Friars, four clerics and five laics, arrived in England. Pope Honorius III. had given them letters of recommendation, and these procured them admission, in the first instance, into the Benedictine Priory of the Holy Trinity at Cambridge. Four of them soon visited London, and were received and entertained for fifteen days in the house of the Dominicans, in Holborn. They afterwards hired a house in Cornhill, belonging to John Travers, and therein made themselves cells; till their number so increased, that, through the charity of the citizens, they removed to the site of their afterwards magnificent monastery near Newgate. John Iwyn, mercer, was their principal benefactor. He gave them a piece of land near the church of St. Nicholas in the Shambles, upon which their first house was erected. Sir William Joyner, Mayor, built them a chapel, which subsequently formed part of the chancel of their church. This was about the year 1239. Sir Henry Waleys built the nave, Walter the Potter the chapterhouse, Bartholomew de Castro the refectory, Sir Gregory de Rokesley, Mayor, the dormitory, and the rest of the house was the gift of other worthy and worshipful citizens, whose names are duly chronicled in the records of the order. I may add, that the early annals of the brethren in England can nowhere be read so agreeably and so accurately as in the "Monumenta Franciscana," lately published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls.

"It was their second church, however, about which we possess most information, and which was undoubtedly the more sumptuous and extensive. This was commenced about a century later, and was one of the most magnificent structures in London. The choir was built chiefly at the cost of Queen Margaret, second wife of Edward I., the nave by John Earl of Britany and Richmond; the seats in the choir by Margaret Segrave, Duchess of Norfolk; and the library was added by the famous Sir Richard

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Whityngton, in 1429. Among the benefactors are specially recorded Mary Countess of Pembroke, Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, and Queen Philippa, wife of Edward III. The church, which was consecrated in 1329, was 300 feet long, 89 broad, and 64 high. The pillars and pavement were of marble, and the windows were marvels of exquisite art.

"But, after all, the great glory of this superb edifice, at least that which seems to have presented the greatest point of attraction to its ancient describers, lay in the numerous monumental treasures with which it was enriched. In these it must have nearly, if not quite, rivalled the church of the Austin Friars itself. Here lay interred, it is said by Weever,* four queens, four duchesses, four countesses, one duke, two earls, eight barons, and some thirty-five knights; and in all, 663 persons of quality. The queens were, Margaret, queen of Edward I.; Isabella, queen of Edward II.; Joan, Queen of Scots, his daughter; and Isabella, Queen of Man. The church was also possessed of the heart of a fifth queen, Alianor, consort of Henry III., and of the heart of King Edward II., which was placed beneath the breast of his queen's effigy. The duchesses were, Beatrice, Duchess of Britany, daughter of Henry III., and Alianor, Duchess of Buckingham, 1530; the duke was John Duke of Bourbon, 1433; the earls were John Hastings, Earl of Pembroke, 1389; and Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, in 1329; the countesses were Margaret Rivers, Countess of Devon; Margaret Marshall, Countess of Norfolk, 1389; Isabella, Countess of Bedford, daughter of Edward I., and Elizabeth, mother of Ralph, Earl of Westmerland. Besides these, there were many others, including those of Alice Lady Kingston, 1439, in the Lady Chapel; Sir John Blount and Lord Mountjoy, 1485, in the Chapel of the Apostles; in the Chapel of St. Francis, that of Sir John Robsard, Knight of the Garter; in the north aisle, that of William Harmer, citizen, 1512; and in the south aisle, that of Dr. John Taulle, Chancellor of St. David's, 1509. These, although the memorials of a very noble fellowship of death, were but a few of the most conspicuous. Stowe says, that 'there were nine tombs of alabaster and marble, environed with bars or strikes of iron, in the choir; and one tomb in the body of the church, also coped with iron, besides seven-score gravestones of marble.' In the time of the troubles of the sixteenth century, the whole of these were sold for—fifty pounds!

"Little is known of the House during the two hundred years after its foundation, except the funereal notices which I have laid before you. It is not until the reign of Henry VIII., that it acquires particular notoriety. The brethren, if they did not acquiesce in the tyrant's designs, took little further part in the events of the times than to give a place of sepulture to some of his victims. Among others of this class are mentioned the

* The register from which Weever and Stowe derived their information has been edited by Mr. J. G. Nichols in the Collectanea Topogr. et Genealogica, vol. v. from the original now in the Cottonian collection of MSS.

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Maid of Kent, and some of the Northern so-called rebels. Soon, however, came the final catastrophe, which involved all such establishments in one common ruin. On the 12th of November, 1539, Thomas Chapman the warden and twenty-five of the brethren signed and sealed the deed of surrender, and accompanied their act by certain declarations, which force upon us the conviction that they are, in part at least, the composition of the unscrupulous Cromwell himself. Every word reveals its parentage, and does its worst to add another and darker stain to an already execrable character.

"After the surrender in 1539, the Grey Friars' house was not given up to the destruction which visited the generality of similar institutions. It seems to have caused the King some trouble to determine what to do with it. Religious houses in London were possessions that even greedy courtiers did not at once affect, nor appropriate till the novelty of the spoliation wore off, and men could hold such property without remark. In the country it was otherwise. There great people did more as they pleased, unrestrained by popular opinion and the wholesome awe which it not unfrequently inspires. Thus, the house of the Grey Friars lay for a long while unemployed. At last, in the year 1544, it became the receptacle of merchandise taken by sea from the French. Just at the end of Henry's life, however, he seemed to awake to a sense of his previous enormities, and to be willing to make some slight restitution. Among a few others of a similar kind was a grant to the city for the general relief of the poor and the maintenance of divine service. In this gift were included the site of the house of the Grey Friars and the adjoining precinct, together with the Hospital of St. Bartholomew and many tenements pertaining thereto. On the 3rd of January, 1546, the church was again opened for divine service, and Ridley, the famous Bishop of Rochester, preached at the neighbouring Paul's Cross, and declared to the audience the King's liberality.

"Of the property whereof the city thus came into possession the house of the lately-dissolved monastery was a very important part. For its employment no specific directions were given, but its disposal was left to the taste of the citizens. And nobly, indeed, did they set to work to devote their possession to the mitigation of a terrible and appalling evil. You will recollect that the time in which this took place was the interval between the suppression of the monasteries and the enactment of the Elizabethan poor-law, the latter rendered absolutely necessary by the misery that abounded on every side. Multitudes died of starvation in the streets, deprived of that charitable aid which they had ever hitherto enjoyed. On the 26th of July, 1552, the citizens began to prepare the Grey Friars' house for the wretched children that infested the town, and by the end of four months the place was ready. On the 23rd of November about four hundred poor children were received; and we are told that when the Lord Mayor and Aldermen visited St. Paul's, on the afternoon

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of the following Christmas Day, the children lined the way from St. Lawrence Lane in Cheap, towards St. Paul's, to the number of 340, attired in one livery of russet cotton (at the following Easter altered to blue, which colour has been ever since retained,) the boys with red caps, and the girls with kerchiefs on their heads, accompanied by the physicians and surgeons, and the masters of the hospital.

"It must now be stated (as we are desirous to elicit truth rather than to favour error,) that King Edward the Sixth, whom it is the fashion of some of the Londoners almost to canonize for the part that he is imagined to have taken in the execution of this good work, had very little to do with it, and deserves, accordingly, very little of the credit of it. The site came from his worthless predecessor, and the funds from the bounty of the citizens themselves. 'Any high-flown eulogies,' says Mr. Nichols,* 'upon Edward's love of learning, are consequently, in this case, wholly misapplied. It does not appear that he even assisted in what the citizens were doing at the Grey Friars. All that can be affirmed is that he recognised it.' The whole that his letters patent gave it was the empty donation of a name! And, as if to remove the possibility of a doubt, Bishop Ridley himself, who may be supposed to have entertained a strong feeling of affection for the young King, and of regret at his early death, in his farewell letter previous to his martyrdom, does not attribute the merit of the foundation to Edward, but to the city magistrates—first and foremost to Sir Richard Dobbs, and next to Sir George Barnes, the two lord mayors in whose civic reigns the restoration was effected.

"An historian of the hospital tells us that, 'in June, 1553, the young King received the Corporation at the palace, and presented them with the charter, the children also being present at the ceremony.' This—alas, that we should have to say so—is a pure fiction, a mere imagination. At the very time that this occurrence is supposed to have taken place, Edward was in the grasp of death. He left the world exactly ten days subsequent to the date of the letters patent which his enthusiastic eulogist imagines him to have bestowed in person!

"The great picture in the hall is taken by many as a visible proof of the reality of that which I have presumed to call a legend. It is stated to be the work of Holbein; but it is neither his work, nor of his age. One who is well qualified to pronounce judgment on such a case assures me that it is of the period of King Charles I.

"It would manifestly be out of my present province to enter upon the subsequent history of the hospital, of the noble school which has effected

* Preface to the Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London, printed for the Camden Society, 1852. In the biographical memoir prefixed to the Literary Remains of King Edward VI. (printed for the Roxburghe Club, 1859, 4to.) Mr. Nichols has subsequently still more thoroughly investigated the course of events connected with the foundation of Christ's Hospital.

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such incalculable good, or of the various eminent men who have been proud to call themselves its children.

"Mr. Trollope's book will be found to supply abundant information on these interesting points, and to it the reader is referred."

F. W. Fairholt, Esq., F.S.A., then drew attention to the various portraits hanging around the room, of benefactors, and officers of the institution, from its foundation to the present time; the most remarkable being the original portraits of Edward VI. One represents him as Prince of Wales at the age of 9 years:* and another, over the President's chair, is eminently characteristic of its painter;† the richness of the colouring and the strong mannerism being perceptible at a glance. This picture, he said, derived much of the exquisite effect of the colouring from the drapery being painted on a gilded surface. That these were true Holbeins there could be no doubt.

Mr. Fairholt also described the collection of Plate which was displayed on the table in the centre of the room; the most remarkable piece being a superb drinking horn, of early fashion.

On the Hon. Secretary reporting the extreme kindness and courtesy he had experienced from all the persons in authority connected with the various places they had to visit, and the readiness with which permission had been granted by them for the inspection of the curiosities and antiquities committed to their care, votes of thanks to Mr. Wm. Gilpin the Treasurer of the Hospital, Mr. Foster White the Treasurer of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, Rev. Samuel Wix, Incumbent of St. Bartholomew the Less, the Rev. J. Abbiss, of St. Bartholomew the Great, the Rev. W. Gilbert, of St. Giles Cripplegate, the Master and Wardens and Mr. Towse the Clerk of the Clothworkers' Company, and the Master and Wardens and Mr. Henley Smith, Clerk of the Barber Surgeons' Company, were unanimously passed.

Alfred White, Esq., read the following "Account of the Priory of St. Bartholomew:"—

"The early history of this priory, with the hospital adjoining, like that of most very ancient ecclesiastical establishments, is obscure and uncertain. The only documents we have are a Charter of Henry I., and one of those amusing though not very trustworthy productions, a monk's account of his own house and the history of the priors of his time. This curious account informs us that 'This church, in honour of most blessed Bartholomew the

* This picture, which was the property of Sir Anthony Mildmay, Chamberlain to Queen Elizabeth, has never been engraved. It is fully described at p. 4 of "A Catalogue of the Portraits of King Edward the Sixth, both painted and engraved. By John Gough Nichols, F.S.A. 1859." 4to.

† This is the picture of which there are many engravings. It is nearly a duplicate of one belonging to Lord Leconfield, at Petworth. (Ibid. p. 5.) Besides these, there is another very curious picture of the King, in the Treasurer's House, at Christ's Hospital, which has been attributed to the hand of Gwillim Stretes (ibid. pp. 10, 20); and a fourth, also on panel, in the Counting-house (ibid. p. 7).

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Apostle, founded Rahere, of good remembrance, and therein to serve God (after the rule of most holy father Austin,) gathered together religious men. And he was twenty-two years their prior.' We are told that this Rahere was not learned, but that he was devout, humble, and benevolent; in feasts sober, a follower of hospitality, and ever desiring to provide for the necessities of the poor. Though born of low estate, he had when young frequented the houses of the nobility, and joined in the spectacles, plays, and courtly mockeries of the King's palace. Subsequently he visited Rome for the pardon of his sins, and while there, falling sick, he vowed that, if God would restore him to health, he would on his return found an hospital for poor men. When returning homeward with this resolution, he was favoured with a vision of Saint Bartholomew the Apostle, who directed him to found a church at Smythfield, in the suburbs of London.

"Rahere, on his arrival, took council of the barons in London, telling them what he had seen and what was in his heart. These told him that as the place was part of the King's market the King only could grant what he desired; and, they helping him to get to the King, the apostle inclined the King's heart to grant him what was necessary to execute his purpose.

"The church was founded in the month of March, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, in memory of most blessed Bartholomew the Apostle, the year from the incarnation of the same Lord our Saviour 1113.

"The place he had chosen for the church was right unclean; it was a marsh full of water, and the place of a gallows for thieves and punishment for other offenders; and, to escape the derision of men, he feigned to be an idiot, and so gained the society of children and servants, and with their help gathered stones and other things needful to the work.

"Afterwards he was much hindered and annoyed by wicked men in his own house, who conspired to kill him, and he was compelled to apply to the King, who granted him every protection, and a charter, by which he became the prior, and so he remained to his death. In these labours he appears to have been assisted by a pious and indefatigable ecclesiastic named Alfune, who, after the buildings were finished, spent his time in collecting alms and provisions for the hospital.

"Stowe says the church and hospital were begun in 1102; but the first charter of Henry I. was not obtained until 1133: and, as Rahere is said in this legend to have died in 1147, and to have been prior twenty-two years, it would appear that he was prior about eight years before this charter was procured. Dugdale says the building of the priory was begun in 1123, and that Rahere lived until 1213. The only date upon which we can place much faith is that of the charter of Henry I., and we may safely assign the early part of the building to the first part of the twelfth century.

"The present church formed the chancel of the priory church, with the site of the central tower and a small portion of the nave. The south transept existed in ruins until a recent period, and the upper part of one bay of it is now used as the vestry. The greater part of this is the work of

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the time of Rahere, and much of the ornament is very interesting; it is the best example of this style in London. There seem to have been some new buildings in the beginning of the thirteenth century; these are apparent from the present west door, where the early-English is mixed up with Norman architecture, and to this period perhaps the clerestory belongs. As in all establishments of this magnitude, alterations appear to have been made at many periods, as is shown by the cloisters, and the considerable repairs and additions made by Prior Bolton in the sixteenth century. The east end of the choir was circular, and at the apse is a curious chamber called The Purgatory, over which it would appear was the high altar. The priory buildings still remaining are the portion of the priory church now used as the parish church; the ancient gateway to the Close in Smithfield, now much hid by plaister; the prior's house, beyond the east end of the church, now and for many years converted into workshops; a small portion of the east cloister; and the hall or refectory, with a crypt under it. The priory was surrendered to Henry VIII. in the thirtieth year of his reign, and was valued at £693 9*s*. 10½*d*.

"The site of the priory buildings, except the church, was conveyed, May 19, 1544, to Sir Richard Rich, for the sum of £1,064 11*s*. 3*d*.

"The six bells are said to have been sold to the parish of St. Sepulchre."

On the last subject mentioned in Mr. White's paper, Mr. Tyssen gave the result of his investigation of the Bells, with casts from them, clearly showing that the antient bells are in their original position.

Among the various remarkable objects at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, Holbein's magnificent portrait of Henry VIII. in the Court Room, the portraits of eminent surgeons by Reynolds and Lawrence, Hogarth's paintings of the Good Samaritan and the Pool of Bethesda, were severally pointed out to the company. The charters of the ancient foundation, which are in very perfect preservation, some curious prints, the old plate, and the costly silver dishes presented on the election of Prince Albert as a Governor, were displayed on the various tables in the Great Hall.

At the Church of St. Bartholomew the Great, Mr. White attended to point out the details of the building mentioned in his paper. The Rev. John Abbiss, M.A. the Rector, the Churchwardens, Overseers, and Vestry Clerk were also in attendance. The company next visited the Church of St. Bartholomew the Less, where the Rev. Samuel Wix, F.R.S. and S.A., the Vicar, pointed out some curious entries in the ancient register.

They then proceeded to the Church of St. Giles, Cripplegate, where they were received by the Rector and officers of the parish, and Mr. Edmund Woodthorpe read the following papers:

"The City Wall is believed to be of the later Roman period. It commenced at the Tower of London, and, forming the boundary of the city on the east, north, and west sides, terminated at the junction of the Fleet Brook with the Thames. The circuit, according to Stowe, was two miles and nearly one furlong. According to Fitzstephen, another wall extended

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along the banks of the Thames between the Fleet Brook and the Tower. The walls were defended by strong towers and bastions, and had several large and lofty gates, one of which, Cripplegate, more particularly claims our attention to-day.

"The foundations of those portions in the vicinity of Aldersgate and Cripplegate rest, at a depth of about 11 feet, upon a loamy clay; and are composed first of a layer of angular flints for a height of about 1 foot 6 inches. Upon these are laid layers of angular uncut Kentish rag-stones in grouting, 4 feet 6 inches in height, covered with two horizontal courses of tiles. The tiles are 1½ inch in thickness, and about 18 inches by 12 inches, imbedded in mortar. Above these tiles is another portion of wall of rag-stone 2 feet 6 inches high; over this two courses of tiles, and again courses of rag-stone up to about the present level of the ground. This portion is 9½ feet in width at the bottom, and 6 feet at the top.

"The construction of the upper portion of the wall is clearly seen in the bastion in Cripplegate churchyard.* This bastion is about 36 feet in diameter externally, and 12 feet above the present ground level; at a height of 5 feet 6 inches is a set-off, above which the bastion is of less diameter. The lower portion is composed of rubble stonework up to the set-off, then a course of flints about 1 foot in thickness, two courses of tiles 3 inches in thickness, a course of flints 8 inches, and the remainder of rubble-work. The bastion is evidently not a portion of the original Roman wall, but was probably the work of Alfred's time, when the wall and other defences were restored, in 886.

"The materials were unquestionably brought from Kent; the tiles might have been formed from the loam excavated from the foundations.

"The wall was bounded on the exterior by a deep ditch. An unctuous black earth or sediment is still found on excavating upon the site of the old moat. Fragments of Samian pottery, bones and horns of animals, and other remains have been discovered.

"The opportunities which have occurred of examining various portions of the wall lead to the conclusion that the whole was formed according to an uniform plan."

"The Church of St. Giles, Cripplegate, suffered considerable damage by fire in 1545, but was soon after re-instated, and so remains to the present day, having escaped the Great Fire of London.

"Among the monuments which it contains are those of—

"Thomas Busbie, a donor to the poor of bread and coals, 1575. The poetical inscription is supposed to be by the good Bishop Lancelot Andrewes, who was vicar of this parish at the time.

"John Foxe, the Martyrologist, 1587.

"Richard Glover, Somerset Herald, a great authority in heraldry, 1588.

* Represented by J. P. Malcolm, in the Gentleman's Magazine, May, 1817, Plate II.

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"Matthew Palmer and his wife, four sons, and one daughter, 1605. This is an excellent specimen of the monuments of that period.

"Edward Harvest, Deputy Alderman of Cripplegate Ward, Master Gunner to King James the First, 1610.

"John Speed, the Historian, 1629.

"Margaret Lucy, daughter of Sir Thomas Lucy, 1634. The inscription on this monument is much admired. It will be found, with the others already mentioned, in Strype's edition of Stowe's Survey.

"John Milton the Poet, and his father.

"Richard Smith, who kept an Obituary of all such persons as he knew in their life: it has been edited by Sir Henry Ellis, and published by the Camden Society.

"Constance Whitney, grand-daughter of Sir Thomas Lucy, a singular monument representing the Resurrection. This monument has given rise to a popular tale of the lady being buried in a trance with some valuable rings on her fingers: the gravedigger, the night after her funeral, secreted himself in the church, and opened the vault and coffin and cut her fingers to obtain the rings, by which means she bled, and was able to walk home, to the astonishment of her husband and servants. The above story has been attributed to De Foe, he being one of the best ghost-story writers in the English language.

"All the monuments having the appearance of oak were varnished, with the view of preserving them, at the expense of Mr. Malone, the editor of Shakspeare.

"A modern monument to the memory of Sir William Staines, Alderman of London, and founder of the almshouses in Barbican (ob. 1807), with his bust, by Charles Manning.

"The registers are complete from the third of Elizabeth to the present time, and are in a beautiful state of preservation. They contain some entries of note, as the marriage of Oliver Cromwell, the burials of John Foxe, John Speed, John Milton and his father, also Daniel De Foe, &c. The entries of those who died of the Plague fill the principal part of a large folio volume. De Foe, in his 'History of the Plague,' particularly mentions the mortality in this parish.

"There is a fine peal of twelve Bells, and excellent chimes, which play seven tunes. They were made, in 1795, by G. Harman, of High Wycombe, a cooper by trade, but an amateur clock and chime maker. These chimes are considered the best in London.

"*Inscriptions on the Seven Bells cast by Pack and Chapman in the year* 1772.

"6th	Bell.	Ye people all who hear me ring, Be faithful to your God and King.
"7th	„	Whilst thus we join in cheerful sound, May love and loyalty abound.
"8th	„	Peace and good neighbourhood.

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"9th „ Our voices shall in concert ring,
To honor both of God and King.

"10th „ In wedlock's bands all ye who join,
With hands your hearts unite;
So shall our tuneful tongues combine
To laud the nuptial rite.

"11th „ Ye ringers all that prize your health and happiness,
Be sober, merry, wise, and you'll the same possess.

"The WARD INQUEST was of very early date, and was evidently created by custom. Before the time of William the Conqueror, the rights of the citizens existed with regard to the Inquest Jury, and these rights were confirmed by charter from that monarch, and by subsequent charters.* The number of the members of the juries varied in different Wards. They consisted of the most respectable inhabitants. The functions of these juries, in regard to police arrangements, have now ceased, as they have been superseded by other officers appointed under recent Acts of Parliament: but in some Wards the Inquest still meets, for the purpose of administering the voluntary charities at Christmas. In Cripplegate it is wholly extinct, and its records no longer exist, with the exception of the following table of 'Orders,' evidently handed down from an early date, which is framed, and still suspended in the Quest-house of the Ward:—

"'ORDERS to be observed by the Wardmote Inquest of St. Giles' Without Cripplegate, London.

"'Since nothing is more ancient and laudable than the Inquest Jury of this great and flourishing City, so nothing can be more commendable than decency and order to be observed amongst them, as well for the preventing any ffeuds or contention that may arise, as also for preserving the peace and tranquility which are so naturally agreeable to all societies and communities of mankind. Therefore, that this Inquest may not in any wise be deemed backward in preventing of any of the like disorders, they are resolved to keep up to the strictness of good rule and order, and for that purpose, for the better maintaining and preserving the same, they do hereby mutually agree to observe and keep the following Orders, viz.—

* In the 1633 edition of Stowe's Survey will be found "An Act for the Reformation of Divers Abuses used in the Wardmote Inquest," occupying pp. 669—683; and the latest account of the laws and administration of this institution is contained in an octavo volume, entitled "An Enquiry into the nature and duties of the office of Inquest Jurymen, of the City of the London, together with the Bye-laws of the Common Council, and the Articles of Charge. Also the Law for regulating the election of Constables, Leet and Annoyance Jury, for the City of Westminster, shewing the nature and duties of their office. And the general laws respecting defective Weights and Measures, for Counties, Ridings, Liberties, and Divisions, of England and Wales. By a Citizen. 1824."

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" 'That upon every day that this Quest shall meet upon business, every member thereof shall appear with his livery gown or black gown, or hire one for that purpose, upon pain of paying to the use of the Quest, 2*s.* 6*d.*

" 'For every oath or curse that any member shall swear and curse, upon the accusation of any member of this Quest, themember shall forfeit and pay to the poor's-box, 1*s.*

" 'If any member during the sitting upon business shall be absent at nine of the clock in the morning by the church clock, or after the great Bell or tenor hath (according to the usual custom) tolled one hundred and one strokes, without leave of the foreman and four of this Inquest, he shall pay to the use of the said Quest, 1*s.*; and for every hour of the day besides, 6*d.*

" 'If any member shall absent himself half a day (except as before excepted), he shall forfeit to the use of the Quest, 3*s.* 4*d.*

" 'If any member as aforesaid shall absent himself during any day or days of business, his partner shall pay and defray, each respective night, such expenses as shall be adjudged requisite for him to pay, his absenting partner paying him again, and if he shall refuse or neglect to pay the same, then the charge thereof shall be defrayed by this Inquest, and the offender shall be indicted for his neglecting to appear and do the business of this Quest, or shall forfeit to the use of this Quest £1 1*s.*

" 'Provided nevertheless, That any of the Inquest may be absent a whole day, or forenoon, or afternoon, or any hours in the day on any day of business, upon leave first had of the Foreman and four of the same Inquest, and also acquiescing and agreeing with the above mentioned penalties as forfeitures.

" 'If any member of this Inquest shall offer or use any indecent or irrelevant speeches, or otherwise misbehave himself towards his fellow Questmen, or any other persons which shall appear at the said Quest, during the time of the sitting, he shall pay such fine as the major part of this Inquest shall set or impose upon the offender.

" 'If any question shall arise during the sitting of this Inquest, such question shall be put by the Foreman and decided by the majority of the said Inquest.

" 'And Lastly, The Ward-clerk shall cause these Orders to be fairly written and put up in a fframe to be set up in the Quest-house during the sitting of this Inquest, to the intent that every member thereof may have recourse to the same and the better know his duty therein.

" 'Peter Earnshaw, Ward Clerk.'

"The Scavenger was appointed by the juries. His duties consisted in causing to be cleansed a certain portion of the Ward for the year of his appointment. The office was compulsory, but a person was excused from the office by presenting to the jury a fine in plate.

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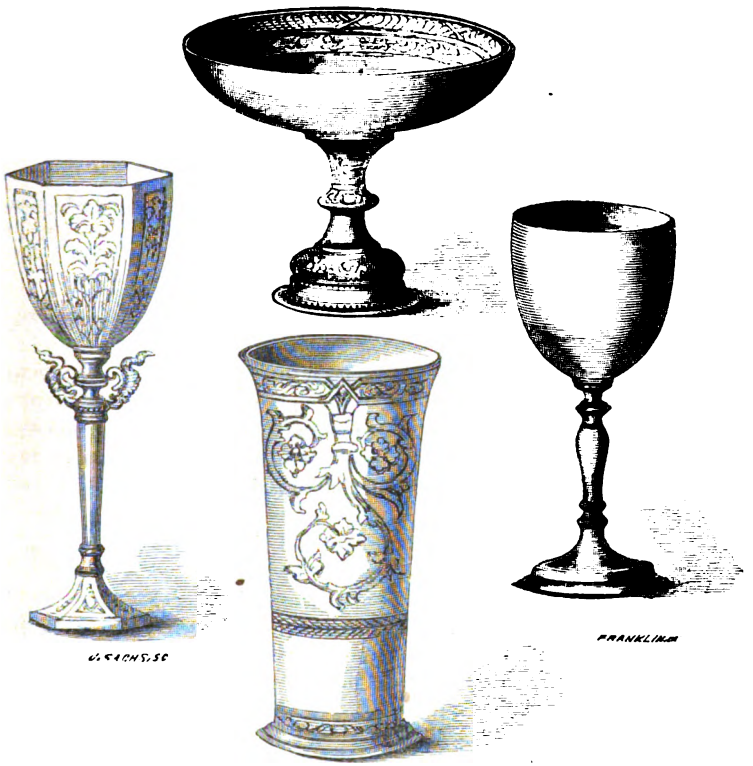

Of the ancient plate of the Ward Inquest, ten pieces are still preserved, being two bowls, four pots or cups (such as sometimes have been called rummers or beakers), and four goblets; of which the following is a brief description (four of them being shown in the annexed engraving):—

1. A bowl of cocoa-nut, mounted with a rim and base of silver gilt.* On the base is this inscription, IHON BVRDE MEAD THIS IN ANNO DOMINE 1568, with a cypher of the initials IB twice, and figures of birds and beasts engraved in outline. At the bottom of the bowl is a boss engraved with a merchant's mark, combined with the initials $\frac{\text{RSA}}{\text{R}}$. Its height is $3\frac{5}{8}$ in., and diameter $5\frac{1}{2}$ in.

* This has been supposed to have been originally a bowl for hypocras, or spiced wine, handed round at inauguration ceremonies. Latterly it was described as a "brown tobacco dish," as appears by a list of the Plate, dated 1826, when the silver portions of this bowl were estimated as weighing 2 oz. The weights in parentheses in the text are taken from the same authority.

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2. *A silver bowl*, parcel gilt, on a stem and base.* Within it an antique head, chased. *It* stands nearly 5 inc. high, and the diameter is 5¼ inc. Year-mark I (possibly L). (11 oz. 5 dwt.) *The upper piece in the Engraving.*

3. A pot or cup† of silver, ornamented with engraving, and the Vintners' arms three times repeated. Inscription—THE GIFT OF HELLEN HODSONE WIDOWE TO THE QVEST HOWSE OF ST. GILES [*for ever*‡], WHEN MR. PAWSONE WASE FORMANE [1591‡].

It stands 7 inches high; the year-mark O; and the weight inscribed "xiij oz. d. z. dij." (13 oz. 8 dwt.)

4. Another pot of silver, parcel gilt, inscribed—

THE GIFTE OF WILLIAM BALLYE STRANGER 1604.

Height, 6⅞ in., year-mark 𝔄, and weight "xij oz. les iiij dw." (13 oz. 15 dwt.)

This is the lower piece in the Engraving.

5. A third pot, or cup, of silver.

THIS WAS THE FYNE OF MR. VAVS FOR BEINGE RELEASED FROM BEING SCAVENGER 1608.

Height, 6¾ in.; year-mark L; weight marked in characters illegible. (9 oz. 15 dwt.)

6. A similar cup of horn, with a silver gilt rim and foot; no inscription; 7¾ in. high; year-mark 𝔠.

7. An hexagonal silver goblet, on a stem and base, chased, inscribed—*Master iames Prescotis gifte.* Year-mark V; height 8¼ in. (6 oz. 12 dwt.) (*See the Engraving.*)

8. Another, plain; height 8¾ in.; marked with the letters E. S. between five roses, all pricked with a point. Year-mark V. (8 oz. 4 dwt.) (*See the Engraving*)

9. A third; 7¼ in. high. *The Fyne of Peter Phillips for beinge Released from Being Scavenger* 1612. Year-mark P; weight "viii. oz. di."

10. A fourth, fellow to the preceding; *The Fyne of Peter Phillips for being released from being Scavenger* 1613. Year-mark P. (8 oz. 4 dwt.)

There are also belonging to the parish some silver articles of somewhat later date, which are still, from their singularity and workmanship, remarkable. One of them is the head of the staff carried by the Beadle, or Warder, as his title was of old.§ It is a model of old Cripplegate, with a wooden-legged cripple walking through the gateway, his hat in his hand.

* This was perhaps originally what was called a "voider," used for confectionery and sweetmeats. In 1826 it was described as a "gilt salver."

† This, and those that follow, are called rummers in the Catalogue of 1826.

‡ These two additions are made by pricked characters.

§ The Ward of Cripplegate Without and the Parish of St. Giles are co-extensive. That of Cripplegate Within consists of several parishes, and, though presided over by the same alderman, elects distinct common councilmen; and there is a deputy alderman to each of these Wards.

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Round the bole is this inscription—*The Guift of Sr Benjamin Maddox, Baronet, to ye Parrish of St. Giles Cripplegate, London, to be Vsed by ye Stewards of ye Natives of ye said Parrish.* Arms, Party per pale, two lions passant. Crest, on a helmet and wreath, a lion sejant, holding a sword. This silver head screws on to the staff, which is of cane, and the whole length is 7 feet.

2. A silver breastplate for the same officer, chased with a view of the ancient Gate, and three cripples walking under it, bordered by frame-work of elegant design, inscribed—

THE GIFT OF YE STEWARDS FOR YE YEAR 1693.

Bevin Wymondesold.	Nich. Field.
John Roos.	John Justice.

Dimensions, 8½ by 7 inches; maker's mark D.A. under a small crown.

3. Four silver badges for the arm, chased with the arms of Sir Benjamin Maddox (as already described), and made to be worn upon All Saints' Day by his pensioners (who receive 15*l.* per annum, in quarterly payments), when they attend divine service. Dimensions, 3½ by 2¼ inches.

Sir Benjamin Maddox also gave, in the year 1709, a copper-plate which presents a view of the Church, placed above a letter of invitation to the feasts of the Society of Natives, impressions from which are still used for the purpose.

The estate left by Sir Benjamin to support his charities consists of 25 acres, 3 roods, in the parishes of Wormley and Broxbourne, in Hertfordshire; and a plan thereof, made in 1776, is suspended in the Inquest-room.

The company then inspected the bastions of London Wall, in Cripplegate churchyard, one now inclosed by the Almshouses of the Clothworkers' Company, and the other forming the walls of the Barber-Surgeons' Hall.

From thence they proceeded to the Almshouses of the Clothworkers' Company, and the ancient crypt under Lambe's Chapel, the following account of which was read by Mr. E. Woodthorpe. From the sound produced when the ground is struck, it is evident that a well existed here, although long disused.

"The Crypt of Lambe's Chapel, in Monkwell Street, is a remarkably pure and finished specimen of the Norman style. The vaulted roof has been supported by nine short columns, six of which remain, with very ornate capitals. The intersecting ribs of the groining have zig-zag mouldings and a spiral ornament. The carved work is of Caen stone. The chapel was part of 'the Hermitage of St. James's in the Wall,' a cell to the Abbey of Garendon, in Leicestershire, as appeareth by a record of Edward I. The Hermitage and appurtenances were purchased of Edward VI. by William Lambe, who bequeathed it and endowed it at his death for the benefit of the Clothworkers' Company, of which he was a member."

The last place visited was the Hall of the Barber-Surgeons' Company,

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where the company were received by the Master and Warden, and Clerk of the Company.

The following paper was read by F. W. Fairholt, Esq. F.S.A.:—

"We meet to-day in one of the most interesting of the old civic halls of London: one of the very few spared by the Great Fire, and containing works, which, as we admire, lead us to regret the great losses we, in common with our ancestors, suffer from that great calamity. The hall, partly built in a portion of the ancient city wall, and the court room, in which we now stand, are the designs of one of our greatest native architects, Inigo Jones. The pictures that decorate the walls exceed in value and interest those possessed by any other city company. Though the least rich in one (the usually accepted) sense, they are the richest in all that fine art can add to the adornments of life.

"My object being only to give you a brief and cursory idea of the contents of this Hall, I shall not be required to detail the history of the Company, or do more than state that the Barbers of the old time were also the chief Surgeons, that they took precedence of them, and that the position of this company at that period was similar to that now held by the Royal College of Surgeons. Surgery being a neglected art, was elevated by its connection with the Barbers' Company in 1541, when King Henry VIII. granted the charter; nor was a disunion effected until so comparatively modern a period as 1745, when they were formally disunited by George II. George III. gave the charter of incorporation to the Royal College of Surgeons, March 22, 1800.

"We owe to the Barber-Surgeons' desire to commemorate their grant by Henry VIII. one of the finest pictures by Holbein in England. I need not long dwell on the merits of a picture which has stood the test of criticism for three hundred years. In the reign of James I. it was borrowed by that monarch to be copied for his use.* It attracted the attention of the diarist, Sam. Pepys, and in 1668, he records that he came here with Harris the actor, thinking by aid of a friendly surgeon to have bought it cheaply; he says, 'I did think to give £200 for it, it being said to be worth £1000.' —luckily for the company he, on consideration, thought it 'not a pleasant though a good picture,' and so 'had no mind to it.' The company, in 1734, engaged Robert Baron to engrave it. Baron was one of the first engravers of his day, and aided Hogarth in some of his works. His drawing hangs in this room, and is a faithful copy, but he did not reverse his engraving; consequently the print is in arrangement exactly in reverse of the picture. The company awarded Baron 150 guineas for the engraving, and appointed Bowles to publish prints at half-a-guinea each.† The original cartoon for the picture is now in the possession of the Royal College of Surgeons, and is a very remarkable work; it varies from the picture in

* The copy then made was probably destroyed in the fire of Whitehall Palace.

† There is a smaller engraving by W. P. Sherlock, in 1817, and one in the Illustrated London News a few years ago.

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some essential particulars. The grouping is not quite so good; it has more formalism; the background has a double latticed window, occupying the place of the long inscription upon the painting; through this window the tower of old St. Bride's is visible, marking the event as taking place in the Royal Palace of Bridewell. The heads are evidently the studies Holbein made from life, and are on separate pieces of paper cut and fitted on the cartoon. The present picture is on oak panel, and the portraits all bear the names of each person upon them. The one who receives the charter is Thomas Vicary, who was sergeant-surgeon in the courts of Henry VIII. Edward VI. Mary and Elizabeth, and author of the first anatomical work in our language. In front of him kneels John Aylef, who was a merchant of Blackwell Hall as well as a surgeon, and whose quaintly rhymed epitaph, formerly on his tomb in St. Michael's, Basinghall Street, is worth quoting:—

In Surgery brought up in youth,
A Knight here lieth dead;
A Knight and eke a Surgeon, such
As England seld hath bred.
For which so sovereign gift of God,
Wherein he did excel,
King Henry VIII. called him to court,
Who loved him dearly well.
King Edward, for his service sake,
Bade him rise up a Knight;
A name of praise, and ever since
He Sir John Aylefe hight.

"The grave-looking figure, who so much resembles Erasmus, kneeling in the foreground to the other side of the King, is John Chambre, the King's own physician, who was also a churchman, and so differs from the rest in costume. He was Dean of the Royal Chapel at Westminster. Tenison, Harman, and Pen were the King's barbers; but, perhaps, to us the most interesting is that of Dr. Butts, for there we gaze on one of Shakespeare's characters, and painted from the life. His friendly interference in rescuing Cranmer from the disgraceful position his enemies had awarded him, among pages and footboys at the Council Chamber door, leads to one of the best scenes in the play; and this little act has given Butts an immortality which no other action of his life has secured.

"Before leaving this picture we may note Walpole's praises: 'That capital picture,' says he, 'in which the character of his Majesty's bluff haughtiness is well represented, and all the heads are finely executed.' I understand the larger number of visitors who come to see it are foreigners; I am ashamed to say few London men have seen it; but the late Sir Robert Peel came frequently to gaze upon it, and always expressed his highest appreciation of its varied excellencies.

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"The fine head of Inigo Jones, by Vandyck, may next arrest attention; it finds an appropriate place here; and it may be worth remarking that that architectural enthusiast, the Earl of Burlington, was at the expense of restoring this hall once, out of respect to Jones's memory.

"Another portrait is that of Sir Charles Scarborough, by Walker. He was physician to Charles and James II., and remarkable for his boldness in bleeding Charles after his stroke of apoplexy, giving him a few days more of life, for which he was awarded £1,000, but he was never paid; the King died, and the grant was forgotten. Cowley has addressed some complimentary verses on his skill.

"To Dr. Arris we are indebted for being enabled to inspect one of the most curious pieces of plate in the city. The necessities of the company about the middle of the seventeenth century obliged them to sell their plate, and among it the cup given to the company by Henry VIII. Dr. Arris bought it, and re-gave it to the society. From the plate-mark it appears to have been made in 1501, and was probably made for royal use. I need not insist on the rarity of ancient plate; it is only to be seen in our old halls and colleges; all we possess in England would go into a small cabinet, and is now widely scattered.* Charles II. gave the cup fashioned like the Royal Oak, with gilt acorns hanging to it. Other cups were gifts or fines for not serving offices.

"In conclusion, I would express a fervent wish for the well-being of the old society; it has many claims on our regard; not the least of which is the laudable care with which it has retained and preserved its works of early art."

The Hon. Secretary then proposed the names of fifteen gentlemen who had joined the Society during the day. He said that, although the object of this meeting was to give the members an opportunity of seeing those relics of the past which were interesting to them, it is important always to obtain members, so that by adding to their funds the Society may be enabled to extend their sphere of usefulness.

Many of the company assembled afterwards to dinner at the Masons' Hall, Edmund Woodthorpe, Esq. in the Chair.

* Pepys has noted dining in this hall 27th February, 1662, and says, "Among other observances we drunk the King's health out of a gilt cup given by King Henry VIII. to this company, with bells hanging at it, which every man is to ring by shaking after he hath drunk up the whole cup," a custom still retained.

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SIXTEENTH GENERAL (FOURTH ANNUAL) MEETING,

Held at the Rooms of the Society of Arts, Adelphi, on Thursday, May 5th, 1859,

JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS, Esq. F.S.A. in the Chair.

The Honorary Secretary, Mr. Henry W. Sass, read the Report of the Council as follows:—

REPORT.

In accordance with their annual custom, the Council offer their Fourth Report to the Members of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society, and feel much pleasure in congratulating them on its continued prosperity.

The number of Members elected since the Meeting in July last is 47. The losses have been 22: of whom two have been removed by death, and 20 by resignation. The present number of Members is 396.

Since the publication of the last Report the Society has held three General Meetings: one on the 20th October, 1858, at Enfield, for the investigation of the town and neighbourhood, at which three papers were read (by the Rev. Thomas Hugo, Mr. John Gough Nichols, and Mr. John Tuff), on matters connected therewith: an Evening Meeting at the Marylebone Literary and Scientific Institution, on February the 9th, when three papers were read (by Mr. William Tayler, On Marylebone past and present; by Mr. George Mackenzie; and by the Rev. Thomas Hugo), on which considerable discussion ensued: and one on April 13th, at Christ's Hospital, &c. when various papers were read (by the Rev. Thomas Hugo, Mr. Alfred White, Mr. Edmund Woodthorpe, and Mr. F. W. Fairholt), the Minutes of which you have just heard read. At each of these Meetings there has been a large attendance, many points of great archæological interest have been brought forward, and antiquities and works of art connected with the different localities have been exhibited.

Your Council have taken into consideration the publication of the Third Part of Volume I. of the Transactions, and in consequence of the smallness of the funds at their disposal, and their anxiety to keep the Society free from debt, it has been determined to apply to the body of the Members for voluntary extraneous aid. In addition to which, having a large number of the First and Second Parts of the Transactions on hand, they have resolved to offer them to those members who have recently joined the Society, and who have not these Parts, at the publishing price, five shillings each, at which price it is their intention to allow all Members to purchase them who join the Society in the course of the present year.

They now submit the audited accounts of the Society, which show a

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favourable balance; and they will, in conclusion, only urge the Members of the Society, and all persons who feel an interest in the subjects of its investigation, to employ every means in their power to extend its influence and promote its prosperity.

By Order,
(Signed) HENRY W. SASS,
Honorary Secretary.

STATEMENT of ACCOUNTS of the LONDON AND MIDDLESEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY, from JUNE 1858 to APRIL 1859.

Cr.

	£.	s.	d.
To Balance at Bankers at time of last audit	36	12	11
„ Cash in hand	5	9	6
„ Subscriptions received by Collector	91	10	0
„ „ „ Hon. Sec.	17	10	0
„ Sale of Transactions	1	5	0
	£152	7	5

Dr.

		£.	s.	d.
Aug. 9	Advertisements	10	12	5
„	Rent	5	5	0
Nov. 3	Rent	5	5	0
„	Petty Cash	5	1	8
1859.				
Nov. 1.	Rent	5	5	0
„	Petty Cash	2	15	7
„	Marylebone Institution	3	3	0
April 5	Martin and Hood	5	19	0
„	Collector	6	5	6
„	Messrs. Nichols (Printing Transactions)	20	0	0
„	Mr. Mitchener (General Printing)	30	0	0
By Cash in hand		24	4	6
„	Balance at Bankers	25	0	9
„	Collector	3	10	0
		£152	7	5

We hereby certify that we have minutely examined all the documents of the Society and find them perfectly correct.

(Signed) W. H. JUDD, Surgeon-Major, late S. F. Guards,
GEORGE FREEMAN,
Auditors.

May 2nd, 1859.

STATEMENT of AFFAIRS.

Cr.

	£.	s.	d.
To Balance in hands of Bankers	25	0	9
Secretary „ „	24	4	6
Collector „ „	3	10	0
Subscriptions in arrear for 1856-7-8-9—			
119 for 1859 £59 10 0			
26 for 1858-9 26 0 0			
4 for 1857-8-9 6 0 0			
91 10 0			
Doubtful 30 0 0			
61 10 0			
£114	5	3	

Dr.

	£.	s.	d.
Due to following persons—			
Mr. Mitchener (Printing)	32	2	0
Messrs. Nichols (2nd Part of Transactions)	25	10	9
Rent to Lady-day	5	5	0
Messrs. Ashbee and Dangerfield	1	0	0
Mr. Esquilant (Stationer)	1	16	0
Mr. Crow (for services)	1	0	9
To Hon. Sec. for expenses	12	16	6
Balance after payment of demands	34	14	3
£114	5	3	

Resolved, That the Report of the Council and the Statement of Accounts be received and adopted.

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Resolved, That the Patrons, President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Trustees, Local Honorary Secretaries, Honorary Photographer, and Auditors be thanked for their services during the past year, and be re-elected.

In accordance with the Rules, the following gentlemen having retired from the Council—

Mr. Arthur Ashpitel,	Mr. E. W. Cooke,
Mr. Charles Baily,	Mr. James Crosby,
The Rev. Henry Christmas,	Mr. T. Duffus Hardy,
Mr. Robert Cole,	Mr. John Whichcord,

Resolved, That the following gentlemen constitute the Council for the ensuing year:

Mr. Arthur Ashpitel.	The Rev. Thomas Hugo.
Mr. Charles Baily.	Mr. Deputy Lott.
Mr. Joshuah W. Butterworth.	Mr. Henry Mogford.
The Rev. Henry Christmas.	Mr. John Gough Nichols.
Mr. Hyde Clarke.	Mr. Charles Reed.
Mr. W. Durrant Cooper.	Mr. Edward Richardson.
Mr. F. W. Fairholt.	Mr. William Tayler.
Mr. B. Ferrey.	Mr. J. R. Daniel-Tyssen.
Mr. W. P. Griffith.	Mr. John Whichcord.
Mr. R. Hesketh.	Mr. Alfred White.

Resolved, That the thanks of the Society be given to Mr. Henry W. Sass, Honorary Secretary, for his services during the past year, and that, with his consent, he be re-elected.

Resolved, That the thanks of the Society be given to the Council for the past year, as the executive of the Society.

Resolved, That the thanks of the Society be given to the Council of the Society of Arts for the use of their rooms on this and previous occasions.

Resolved, That the thanks of this Meeting be given to the Chairman.

After a reply from Mr. J. Gough Nichols, the Meeting terminated.

SEVENTEENTH GENERAL MEETING.

Held (by Special Permission of the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor and the Court of Common Council) in the Council Chamber at Guildhall, on Thursday, June 14th, 1859,

The Right Honourable THE LORD MAYOR, in the Chair,—Occupied by Mr. DEPUTY LOTT until the arrival of his Lordship.

The CHAIRMAN, in some observations on the objects of the Society, remarked that it sought to add to the materials of history by local investi-

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gation, while it also borrowed light from history, by which to unravel topographical and genealogical problems. He considered that such *réunions* as the present distinguished societies of this kind from those learned bodies which conduct their affairs in a more formal manner, at a fixed place of meeting. The use of a temporary rendezvous for each general gathering was a plan fraught with interest, as it not only added to the attractions and increased the sources of information and pleasure, but it gave completeness to the circle of local studies, which the Society desired to promote.

The Honorary Secretary announced the programme of the proceedings of the day, as follows:—

After the reading of the papers, the Company to be divided into sections to visit simultaneously—

The Hall, attended and explained by Mr. Edmund Woodthorpe;
The Town Clerk's Office, by Rev. Thomas Hugo and the Town Clerk;
The Crypt, by Mr. Deputy Lott;
The Chamber of London, by Mr. William Tayler;
The Law Courts, by Mr. Henry Mogford;
The Library, by Mr. Alfred White and the Sub-Librarian;

re-assembling in the Hall, from thence to proceed to the Church of St. Mary-le-Bow to examine the crypt, and to the Church of St. Mary Aldermary.

Mr. W. H. Overall, Sub-Librarian of the Library at Guildhall, presented the following Report upon the contents of the Library and Museum of the Corporation:—

"The present Library of the Corporation of London cannot boast of antiquity, having been established so late as the year 1824.*

"The ancient Library, founded by Sir Richard Whittington in the fifteenth century, was of some extent and importance, as is shown by the Will of John Carpenter, Town Clerk, which directs some of his books to be placed in the Common Library at Guildhall for the profit of the students there, and those discoursing to the common people.† We have, in the Records of the Corporation, a petition of John Clipstone, the Librarian, in the reign of Henry the Sixth, to the Mayor and Aldermen, in which he speaks of the great attendance and charge of the Library. It is stated by Stowe that 'the books were in the reign of Edward the Sixth sent for by Edward Duke of Somerset, Lord Protector, with promise to be restored shortly. Men laded from thence three carts with them, but they were never returned.'

* "A Catalogue of the Library of the Corporation of London, instituted in the year 1824: with an Alphabetical List of Authors annexed," has been recently printed for the use of the Members of the Corporation, 8vo. 1859.

† Brewer's Life of Carpenter, second edition, 1856, p. 143.

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"If this was the case, it is fortunate that the Corporation retained the invaluable series of its own records.

"In the present Library some very interesting relics of antiquity are deposited. The collection of Roman remains found in the excavations at the Royal Exchange is of considerable extent;* among the pottery are several specimens of amphoræ of different sizes, and a few terra-cotta lamps. One of these, made of fine pale-brown clay, is nearly perfect, and measures three inches in width and one inch in height; it has the head of an empress finely impressed in the centre. Some fine pieces of Samian ware exhibit the different types and subjects usually embossed on them, with the potters' marks. But the most interesting remains in this collection are the tablets and styles for writing, some very perfect, and exhibiting the creases made by the leather thongs which bound them together; the styles are of different sizes and made of various metals, the small end being used for making the letters, and the larger one for effacing them.

"In the same collection are several remains of the Roman *crepidæ*, or lachet shoes, showing great taste and skill in the production and design of that necessary article of attire.

"We have besides many antiquities found in different parts of the city: from Winchester Street, two terra-cotta lamps; one bears every indication of being much used, with the burn still upon the wick; it has sculptured upon it Roman helmets and other military ensigns finely executed; the other has Pluto and Cerberus. Also a two-handled drinking-cup of black earthenware.

"From Hart Street, we have the Deæ Matres, or Matronæ, a curious piece of sculpture, discovered during excavations for a sewer in Hart Street, Crutched Friars, among the *débris* of Roman buildings, and at a considerable depth. It measures two feet eight inches in length, one foot five inches in width, and one foot eight inches in depth. It represents three draped female figures sitting, holding in their laps baskets of fruit. Such votive altars have been found in the Netherlands and Belgium, in France, and particularly along the banks of the Rhine, but I believe this is the only specimen found in London.†

"The sign of the Boar's Head, the ancient abode of Dame Quickly, immortalised by Shakespeare in King Henry IV. The Boar's Head Tavern was restored after the Fire of London, and this stone bears date 1668, the year of its restoration.

* Of these there is a Catalogue privately printed by William Tite, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., the Architect of the Exchange, for the Corporation of London, 1848. 8vo.

† It is engraved in the first volume of Collectanea Antiqua, by Charles Roach Smith, F.S.A.; also in his Roman London; in the Journal of the British Archæolgical Association, vol. ii.; and in Archer's Vestiges of Old London.

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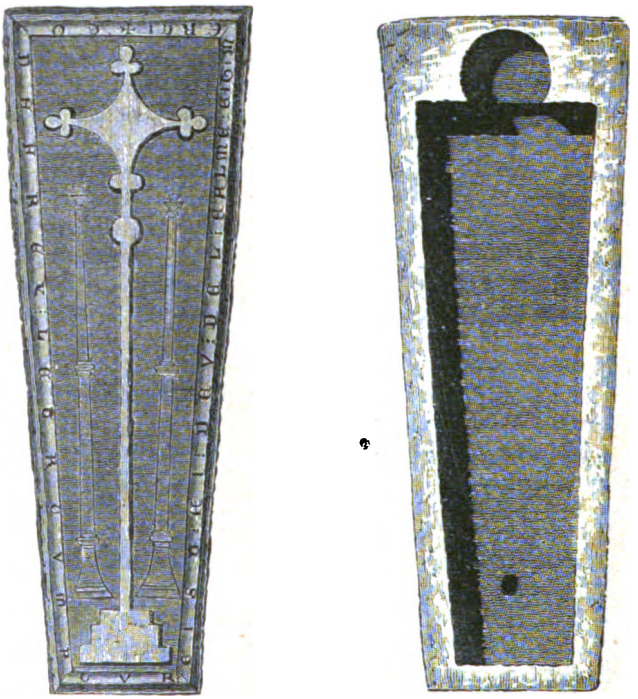
"An ancient stone coffin,* of the 12th or 13th century, found in the Chapel of St. Mary Magdalen, formerly attached to the Guildhall; the lid



is ornamented with a cross between two trumpets, and bears the following inscription: GODEFREY LE TROUMPOUR : GIST : CI : DEU : DEL : EALME : EIT : MERCI : *i.e.*, 'Godfrey the Trumpeter lies here; the Lord have mercy upon his soul.'

"In the collection of Seals of the several monasteries and convents in London and Southwark, will be found the following:—St. Bartholomew's Priory, Bermondsey Priory, the Priory of St. Mary Overy, the Priory of St. Helen's, London Chapel on the Bridge, and Old St. Paul's. We likewise have a cabinet of rare Tokens of the London traders, tavern and

* Engraved in the Gentleman's Magazine for July, 1822, with some remarks by Mr. John Chessell Buckler. The engraving, by favour of Messrs. Nichols, is here republished. (Mr. Buckler supposed the occupant of the coffin to have been an ecclesiastic, and the objects engraved on the coffin-lid candle-sticks: if viewed in the contrary direction to the cross, they are evidently trumpets.)

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TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

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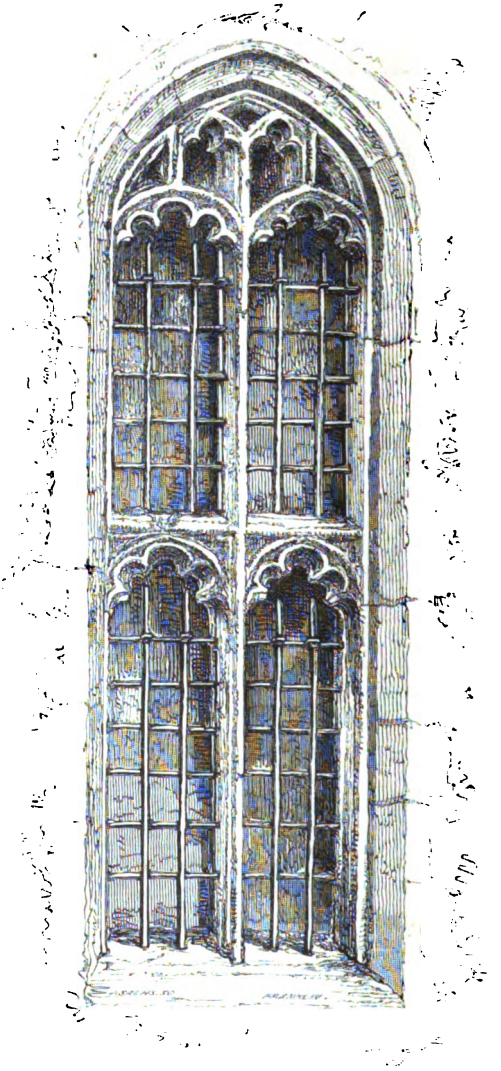

WINDOW OF GUILDHALL, LONDON,

SOUTH SIDE.

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coffee-house tokens current in the 16th and 17th centuries, presented by Henry Hanbury Beaufoy, Esq.*

"I would direct attention to the Autographs of great and distinguished men. First, the autograph of the poet Shakspere, attached to the counterpart of the conveyance of premises in Blackfriars, abutting upon the King's Wardrobe, now Wardrobe-place; the sum to be paid by Shakespeare for it was £140; but it appears that he paid down only £80, and mortgaged the premises for the remainder. That mortgage deed was lately sold for 300 guineas. The Corporation gave, some years ago, 140 guineas for the counterpart above mentioned.

"There are also—a Letter from the Duke of Buckingham, the favourite of Charles the Second, describing the Fire of London; two Letters from Cromwell to the Corporation; two Autographs of Sir Christopher Wren; one of Sir Robert Walpole; a Letter from Lord Nelson, with the sword of Admiral Blanquet; the Autograph of the Prince of Wales, Jan. 1858; and Autograph Answers from the Emperor of the French, dated Windsor Castle, April 19, 1855, and the King of Sardinia, from the same place, Dec. 4 in that year, to Addresses of the Corporation; with many others.

"I would only add that this Library is particularly rich in Topography of the City, and all matters relating thereto.

"W. H. OVERALL.

"Library, 14th June, 1859."

From a window of the Library (across a narrow opening) is seen one of the ancient south windows of the Hall.† It is twenty-one feet in height and seven feet in width, and is a fair example of the Perpendicular style, as employed when the Hall was rebuilt in the fifteenth century. (It is engraved in the opposite Plate.)

The most curious relic of the civic state in ancient times (but one which has hitherto escaped the notice of any London historian), is a Mace, or the JEWELLED SCEPTRE as it is now called, which is preserved in the Chamberlain's Office. Its length is eighteen inches, and its appearance is represented in the annexed Engraving. The staff is composed of crystal, cut and channeled, and alternated with bands of gold, in which the channeling is continued; the channeling of the crystal is filled with thin fillets of gold; and the golden divisions are decorated at intervals with eight strings of large seed-pearls. All the workmanship of the staff is very rude, and probably of remote antiquity; but that of the coronet is of better execution, and, being of a darker gold, is evidently a later addition. It is composed of four crosses and four fleurs de lis, and decorated with three rubies

* Described in a Catalogue compiled by Mr. Jacob Henry Burn, and printed at the expense of the Corporation. 1853. 8vo. Second edition, 1855.

† There is an octavo etching by J. P. Malcolm of "The S.E. corner of Guildhall," which shows this window and another of the same form, as they appeared from a public passage which formerly existed between the hall and the chapel.

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and three sapphires, besides six very large seed-pearls, and other pearls arranged in groups. The larger stones are set *en cabuchon*, or projecting as nail-heads, a characteristic of ancient jewellery work. On the top of the staff, within the coronet, is a shield of the royal arms, France and England quarterly, apparently painted on vellum, and protected by a thin plate of crystal.

There is no record of the time when this interesting object was originally made, but in its present shape its fashion may safely be assigned to the early part of the fifteenth century. In the famous Shrewsbury book—a volume of romances presented to King Henry the Sixth, by John Talbot, the great Earl of Shrewsbury (now preserved among the Royal MSS. in the British Museum, and marked 15 E. VI.)—is a drawing delineating the presentation of the volume to the King, seated on his throne and surrounded by his officers of state, one of whom (the Lord Constable of England?) holds a mace of precisely similar design (see the engraving in Strutt's Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities, 4to. 1793, pl. xliii.)

Though really and strictly a Mace,* of an ancient form, it appears that the designation of Sceptre has been given to this ancient relic for at least two centuries and a half.

In "The Order of my Lord Maior, the Aldermen, and the Sheriffes, for their meetinges and wearing of their apparel, throughout the yere. 1604," 12mo, in *The Order for Simon and Jude's day*, being the day on which the inauguration of the new Mayor then took place, occurs this passage relative to the delivery of the city regalia :—

"Then M. Towne clearke giveth him his oath, and when hee hath taken his oath, the old Lord ariseth and giveth the new Lord his place, the olde Lord taking the new Lordes place; and *then*

* The Mace of the Mayor of Norwich is of similar construction, formed of crystal and silver gilt, but twice the length (three feet two inches,) and of more modern fashion. It was made in 1551. See "Notices and Illustrations of the Costume, Processions, Pageantry, &c., formerly displayed by the Corporation of Norwich," folio, 1850, p. 28: and the plate in that volume.

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M. Chamberlaine delivereth first to him the Scepter, next the keyes of the common Seale, lastly the seale of the office of the Maioraltie. After, M. Swordbearer giveth him the Sword. Then they arise," &c.

And in the same old book of Orders, under the head "At such time as a King is to be crowned," we read, "The Lord Maior, for that time of service and attendance, weareth a crimosin velvet gowne, a coller of esses, and *scepter*, but no cloake."

But in the ceremonials of the various Coronations the Lord Mayor is always described as "bearing the Mace;" and Shakspeare follows the same description in his order for the Coronation of Queen Anne Boleyne (Henry VIII. act iv. scene 1). In the plates to Ogilvy's Coronation of Charles II. and Sandford's Coronation of James II. the Lord Mayor will be found represented with this identical mace or sceptre in his hand; and so also in Sir George Naylor's magnificent work on the Coronation of George IV. is a portrait* of the Lord Mayor, John Thomas Thorp, esq. with the same ensign of his authority.

At the obit of King Henry the Seventh, performed at Westminster, the Mayor offered at mass next after the Lord Chamberlain, *with the mace in his hand;* Aldermen Barons, having been Mayor, next to the Knights of the Garter, and before all Knights for the Body; next after the Knights, the other Aldermen. (Journal Jennyns, f. 69.)

It seems not improbable that this Mace acquired the designation of a Sceptre from its being regarded as the emblem of the royal authority delegated to the Lord Mayor within the City of London, an authority by which he takes precedence of all other subjects within his jurisdiction. This precedence was successfully asserted and established during the mayoralty of Sir James Shaw.†

* Of this portrait there is a framed copy in the Chamberlain's Office at Guildhall.

† The question arose upon occasion of the funeral of Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson, for which the Heralds had arranged the order of procession after the precedent of the public funeral of the Earl of Sandwich in 1672. That distinguished naval commander had been buried in Westminster Abbey, and consequently *out of the City of London:* wherefore Sir James Shaw considered that by no means a precedent to be observed on similar occurrences within the City; particularly as on the Thanksgivings in 1789 and 1797 both Houses of Parliament, with their respective Speakers, in state, preceded the Lord Mayor, who rode immediately before the King from Temple Bar to St. Paul's Cathedral. In assertion of his claim, Sir James Shaw transmitted the following statement to Lord Hawkesbury, the Secretary of State:—

"Mansion-house, Jan. 4, 1806.

"The College of Arms, to whom the plan of the Funeral of Lord Nelson has been intrusted, having made up a ceremonial from different precedents, all of them happening without the City of London, seemingly with a view of striking at the root of that high rank and pre-eminence within the City and its liberties which the Lord Mayor has enjoyed from time the most remote, feeling as I do the strong grounds on which

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Another object of interest is the CITY PURSE, which is annually brought forward at the inauguration of every new Mayor, being supposed to contain the balance of moneys of the Corporation in the Chamber to be handed over by his predecessor. This purse is square in shape, measuring ten inches in each direction; it is formed of some very

stout silken fabric, originally of a scarlet colour, thickly embroidered with

I stand as chief magistrate of this great City, I should hold myself equally unworthy the choice of my fellow-citizens and the most gracious approbation of His Majesty, were I not to resist to the utmost of my power this attempt at their rights and my Sovereign's authority. When the King honours this City of London with his presence, the Lord Mayor, as his immediate representative, receives him at the gate and delivers up the City Sword; it is then returned to the Lord Mayor, who moves in procession immediately before His Majesty, even although the King should be accompanied by his Royal progeny, as in 1789 and 1797, in the present reign; in the reign of Charles I., on his return from Scotland; and I am informed in other instances. Yet the Heralds in the present ceremony have thought proper to place the Lord Mayor junior in rank to Barons' Eldest Sons. How they came to treat the representative of His Majesty in this manner it is not fit that I should at present stop to inquire; but I wish it clearly to be understood that within my own jurisdiction, in the City of London and its liberties, no subject whatever can, or ought to, take rank, precedence, or authority above the Lord Mayor; and I ground this on ancient usage, custom, and charter; nor have the College of Arms produced any precedents of authority to contradict the doctrine.

"JAMES SHAW, Mayor."

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gold lace. Both sides are alike in pattern, and the City Arms were worked in their proper colours, having a field of silver thread. From the lower corners there formerly depended large tassels, and a third in the centre: and the strings were also decorated with handsome tassels. The interior was lined with scarlet silk. This beautiful specimen of old embroidery is probably either of the reign of Elizabeth or of the early part of the seventeenth century.

The next day Sir James Shaw had an interview with Lord Hawkesbury, and the result was a royal warrant in the following terms:—

"GEORGE R.—Whereas doubts have arisen concerning the place of our Lord Mayor of the City of London in the procession from Temple Bar to our cathedral church of St. Paul, on occasion of the interment of Horatio late Viscount Nelson; and whereas it has been humbly represented to us on the part of the Lord Mayor of our City of London that in all ceremonies and processions whereat we are present within the City of London it appears to have been the custom for the Lord Mayor, bearing the City Sword, to take his station in the procession next to ourselves; and whereas it hath been moreover humbly represented to us on the part of the Lord Mayor that in all commissions of gaol delivery for the City of London and County of Middlesex he is named first by us, and before our Lord Chancellor, Judges, and all other persons named therein; and whereas our officers of arms having, in obedience to the directions of our Earl Marshal, made search for precedents on the subject of the claim of the Lord Mayor of London to precedency above all subjects whatever in our absence in processions within the City of London; and that upon the examination hitherto made by them of the records in our College they have not found any precedent to justify the said claim; and whereas the time will not admit of so complete an investigation of the Lord Mayor's claim of precedency as might lead to a final adjudication of the same, it is our Royal will and pleasure that our Garter Principal King at Arms do on the present occasion marshal and place the Lord Mayor of London in the same situation wherein he would have been placed if we had been present, bearing the City Sword; provided, nevertheless, that this declaration of our pleasure be for this special occasion only, and not construed into a precedent for the future, to the prejudice of the rights and precedency of any person or persons whatsoever.

"Given at our Court at St. James's, the 6th day of January, 1806, in the 46th year of our reign.

"By His Majesty's command,

"HAWKESBURY."

In consequence of this warrant, the Lord Mayor took precedence of the Prince of Wales and the Dukes of York and Clarence (two of them afterwards Kings of England) at Lord Nelson's Funeral. That Sir James Shaw had not forfeited the royal favour by this conduct was shown on the following Easter Monday, when his entertainment at the Mansion-house was attended by the Prince of Wales, his four brothers the Dukes of York, Clarence, Kent, and Sussex, and his cousin the Duke of Gloucester. When Sir James Shaw was created a Baronet in 1809, (with the designation "of Kilmarnock, co. Ayr,") he received a grant of supporters to his arms, the dexter supporter being a savage wreathed about the head and waist with laurel, his exterior hand resting on a club, all proper,—being the same supporter as borne by other

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The Rev. THOMAS HUGO, M.A., F.S.A., read a paper on "the Liber Albus and other Records of the Corporation of London, with Illustrations derived from them of Metropolitan Life in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries." This will be found at page 245.

RICHARD ALMACK, esq. F.S.A., by the hands of Mr. John Gough Nichols, exhibited the original Indenture, dated the 8th Nov. 1783, witnessing the delivery to the Right Hon. Robert Peckham, esquire, Lord Mayor, of the Plate, Collar of Esses, and other personal ornaments, at the Mansion House, on the commencement of his Mayoralty. Signed and sealed by John Wilkes, as Chamberlain. The following is a copy of this document:

"This Indenture, made the eighth day of November in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three, and in the twenty-fourth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Third by the grace of God of Great Britain, France, and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith, and so forth, BETWEEN John Wilkes, Esquire, Chamberlain of the City of London, of the one part, and the Right Honorable Robert Peckham, Esquire, Lord Mayor of the City of London, of the other part, WITNESSETH that the said Chamberlain at the time of the execution hereof hath delivered into the hands of the said Lord Mayor the parcel of Plate, the Collar of SS., Jewels, and other things hereafter ensuing, that is to say; Three Great Decanters engraved with the Arms of this City, weighing five hundred and forty-one ounces, Two Great Bowls and Covers engraven with the City Arms, weighing one hundred and twenty-one ounces and four penny weights, Three Basons and Ewers of Silver all Gilt, weighing five hundred and ninety-eight ounces, two of which are engraved with the Arms of this City, the other engraved with the Arms of Lady North on the middle and the City Arms on the brim. A Collar of fine gold with the Letters of S.S., the gift of Sir John Allen, Knight, which being enlarged with four Letters of S.S., two Knotts, and two Roses, now weighing forty-eight ounces and five pennyweights. One fair Jewel containing one hundred and thirty-two diamonds, whereof fifteen are Rose Diamonds, sixty Brillionets or half Brilliants, and fifty-seven Brilliants, weighing Eighteen Carratts and three Grains, set in a Silver Pendant, and one fair Orient Pearl pendant unto the

Scotish families of Shaw, but in this case taken as emblematical of Fortitude, the sinister hand presenting an escroll, thereon inscribed THE KING'S WARRANT OF PRECEDENCE; sinister supporter, an emblematical figure of the City of London, the dexter arm supporting the shield, the sinister extended to receive the escroll presented by the other supporter. The arms of Shaw, being Azure, three covered cups, two and one, or, were differenced by a chief argent charged with a merchant's ship under sail proper, and a canton gules charged with *the mace of the City of London* surmounted by a sword in saltire, also proper, pomel and hilt of the second. It must be regarded as an important omission, that on Sir James Shaw's monument in St. Botolph, Aldgate, his arms are fixed *without* these supporters; but on the Vote of Thanks to him on his retiring from the office of Chamberlain, now suspended in the Chamberlain's office, they are properly delineated.

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same, which said Jewels were altered and the Diamonds new cut and set by order of the Court of Lord Mayor and Aldermen, dated the twenty-second day of February, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-seven, in the Mayoralty of the Right Honorable Marshe Dickinson. One Bowl or Monteth with the Arms of the City, weighing one hundred and seventy-nine ounces, and ten pennyweights. One standing Cup with a Cover all Gilt, now weighing thirty-seven ounces and five pennyweights. One Silver Standing Cup and cover, weighing one hundred and sixty-nine ounces and twelve pennyweights, presented by this City to Richard Oliver, Esquire, and by him deposited at the Mansion House for the use of the Lord Mayor for the time being. Two Silver Tankards weighing seventy-three ounces and fifteen pennyweights. One other Silver Tankard weighing sixty-two ounces. Eight Dozen of Silver Plates weighing one thousand eight hundred and ninety-six ounces, four pennyweights. Four dozen of Soup Plates weighing one thousand and thirteen ounces and eight pennyweights. Thirty-three Silver Dishes, one thousand four hundred and ninety-five ounces and ten pennyweights. One Silver Salver Cup and Cover all gilt, weighing one hundred and seventy-five ounces and ten pennyweights. Eight Dozen of Silver-handled Knives and eight dozen of Forks, the silver weighing two hundred and eighty-seven ounces and sixteen pennyweights. Four dozen of Silver-handled desert Knives and four dozen of Silver Forks, the silver weighing fifty-eight ounces and eighteen pennyweights. Two dozen of Four-prong'd Forks, Six Silver Sauce Boats, eighty-seven ounces and nineteen pennyweights. Six Gadroon Sauce Boats, weighing one hundred and twenty-two ounces and three pennyweights. Twelve Silver Ladles for the Sauce Boats, twenty ounces. Four pair of Silver Salts, thirty ounces and eight pennyweights. Two pair of Salts weighing fifteen ounces and eight pennyweights. Eight Salt Spoons weighing three ounces and nine pennyweights. A Silver Bread Basket, seventy-one ounces and seventeen pennyweights. Eight dozen of Silver Table Spoons, two hundred and fifty-four ounces and ten pennyweights. Two Silver Sauce Spoons, fifteen ounces and ten pennyweights. Two dozen of Silver desert Spoons, twenty-seven ounces and seventeen pennyweights. One dozen of ditto, sixteen ounces and eighteen pennyweights. Two Silver Marrow Spoons weighing three ounces and sixteen pennyweights. Two Silver Tureens and Covers, weighing three hundred and seventy-two ounces and nine pennyweights. One large Epergne weighing three hundred and seven ounces. Twelve fluted Candlesticks and six Branches weighing six hundred and fifty-nine ounces and fourteen pennyweights. Two Setts of fluted Castors in fframes, weighing one hundred and thirteen ounces and three pennyweights. Two Mustard Spoons and two large Waiters, weighing one hundred and forty-seven ounces and ten pennyweights. Six small ditto weighing seventy-eight ounces and sixteen pennyweights. Four Soup Ladles weighing forty-four ounces and three pennyweights. A Tea Kitchen weighing one hundred and eighty-one ounces. A Coffee Pott

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forty-five ounces and ten pennyweights. Three dozen of Tea Spoons, two Sugar Tongs, sixteen ounces and seventeen pennyweights. Three dozen of Silver Bottle Tickets at five Shillings and sixpence each. Silver Ink Stand, forty-six ounces three pennyweights. A large Salt for Swordbearer,* a Mace, a Silver Staff head, and Staff for the Porter, valued at eighty pounds four Shillings. Four Swords of State and four cases for ditto. Two Velvet Hoods provided at the charge of the City and appointed to pass from Lord Mayor to Lord Mayor, one of which Velvet Hoods the preceding Lord Mayor is to wear on the ninth day of November in every year. An entertaining Gown of Velvet laced and fringed with Gold, provided at the charge of this City and appointed to pass also from Lord Mayor to Lord Mayor. Two Mahogany Cases Silver Mounted, weighing seventeen ounces and nineteen pennyweights. Three Mahogany Cases with Silver Furniture, weighing fifty-two ounces and three pennyweights. Three Red Covers for Mahogany Cases. A Large Wainscott Iron-bound Plate Chest. Two other large iron Chests weighing twelve hundred one quarter and eighteen pounds weight, to keep the said Plate and Jewels in, and three strong Padlocks with three different Keys. Two padd Saddles with Blue Cloth Housing laced and fringed with Gold, double Girts and Bridles, in a large Wainscot Case, for the use of the Common Cryer and Clerk of the Papers for the time being, provided at the charge of this City for reading Proclamations at the Royal Exchange. All which parcels of Plate, Collar of S.S., Jewels, Iron Chests, and other things above mentioned, and every part and parcel thereof above expressed, with the two Hoods, and the Entertaining Gown, the said Lord Mayor acknowledgeth himself to have had and received at the time of the execution of these presents of the said Chamberlain as the proper Goods of the City to serve the Lord Mayor during the time of his Mayoralty for the honour of this City. And the said Lord Mayor for himself, his Executors, Administrators, and Assigns, covenanteth and granteth to and with the said Chamberlain, and his successors Chamberlains of the said City for the time being, by these Presents, that he the said Lord Mayor, his Executors, Administrators, and Assigns, shall immediately and forthwith after the time of his Mayoralty, or death if it should (as God forbid) happen within the same, redeliver or cause to be redelivered unto the said Chamberlain or his successors Chamberlains of the said City for the time being, or his Deputy, or his certain Attorney in that behalf, to the Use of the said Lord Mayor and Commonalty and Citizens of the said City, all the said parcels of plate, Collar of S.S., Jewels, Iron Chests, and all other Things above mentioned and every part and parcel thereof, with the said two Hoods and Entertaining Gown, or else the true and just value of such part thereof as shall be embezzled or lost, without delay, collusion, or ffraud.

* The Swordbearer had formerly a distinct table at the Mansion-house, at which the ancient custom, that elsewhere prevailed, of dividing the household *above and below the Salt*, was retained.

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And for the true performance thereof he bindeth himself, his Executors and Administrators, unto the said Chamberlain and his successors Chamberlains of the said City for the time being in the Sum of Four thousand Pounds. IN WITNESS whereof the said parties to these presents have hereunto interchangeably set their Hands and Seals the Day and year first above written.

(Signed) JOHN WILKES.

With a seal of arms, Vert, a chevron between three rams; the shield suspended by a ribbon.

Indorsed, Sealed and Delivered (being first duly stampt) in the presence of (Signed) JOHN GURR.
RICHARD WEAVER.

Mr. ALMACK also exhibited an impression from an engraved copper-plate headed LIBERTY, and entitled "A Congratulatory Epistle from Britannia to I. Wilkes, Esq." It is partly expressed in hieroglyphics, and afforded considerable amusement.

Mr. F. W. FAIRHOLT, F.S.A., read a paper* "On the History of the Giants in Guildhall," tracing their origin to the old legendary Chronicles of Geoffrey of Monmouth, in which we are told that Britain was first peopled by the daughters of the Emperor Diocletian, and that Brutus of Troy, sailing northward, conquered the giants who then inhabited Albion, and founded London, which he called New Troy, 1008 years before the birth of Christ. These fabulous stories formed a part of the serious History of England in early times, and were entered in the "Liber Albus" and other records, and even advanced in memorials to our kings, as an evidence "of the great antiquity of London, even before Rome." In the pageants of the mayors, as well as those exhibited in the advent of our sovereigns, these giants were displayed; they stood on London Bridge when Philip and Mary entered London, and at Temple Bar when Queen Elizabeth passed through London to her coronation. Such figures, however, were made of wicker; the present ones were solidly carved in wood, in the year 1707. They were known as Gogmagog, a Briton, and Corineus, a Roman; the former name being now split in two, and doing duty for both.

Mr. Fairholt then traced the resemblance of these gigantic figures to those displayed by the guilds of the Continent. Giants are still common in the public processions of Antwerp, Malines, Brussels, Ath, Mons, &c. The most remarkable of all, the giant of Antwerp, is so enormous, that, though a seated figure, it could only be accommodated in a building as high as our Guildhall. The fabulous histories of these old continental cities,

* This paper has since been enlarged by its author, and published under the title of "Gog and Magog; the Giants in Guildhall; their real and legendary history. With an account of other Civic Giants, at home and abroad. 1859." 12mo. (J. C. Hotten, Piccadilly.)

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particularly as regards giants, are similar to that of London; but it is remarkable that they still proudly dwell on them, while we have forgotten ours. It was thus with all ancient nations—the Greeks and Romans had their godlike ancestry, the Northern tribes their gigantic ones.

Mr. John Whichcord, F.S.A., read a memoir on the Church of St. Mary Aldermary, which will be found at page 259.

Mr. Deputy Lott, F.S.A., read a paper on the Church of St. Mary-le-Bow. There have been successively three Churches in or near this spot. Stowe gives no description of the architecture of the church, as standing in his time, except that it was built on arches of stone, and was therefore called Sancta Maria de Arcubus, or Le Bow. These arches, no doubt, form the existing crypt, and gave the name to the Court of Arches, formerly held in this church. In Aggas', Wyngrade's, and other maps, we have attempts at depicting the elevation of the church, but so rude that they are little to be depended upon. They show, however, that the northern extremity of the church did not reach Cheapside, and that the steeple was at its south-west angle. For the steeple we have an authentic record in an ancient silver seal, which was dug up in the ruins of the old church after the Fire of 1666, and which is still recognised as the parish seal; it has this inscription—*Sigillum Ecclesiæ Beatæ Mariæ de Arcubus Londini*, 1580. and represents the upper portion of a square tower, the lower part containing a clock-face, above it a Gothic window, an ornamental cornice embattled, and at each of the four angles is a lantern, from which spring flying buttresses, of slender proportion, supporting a fifth lantern, and the whole presenting a very quaint appearance, and probably originating the beautiful designs of the steeples of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Feversham, and the more modern construction of Sir Christopher Wren at St. Dunstan's in the East. The steeple also appears, with its five lanterns, in Hollar's bird's-eye view of London.

The Norman crypt, which remains under the basement of the present building, is one of the most perfect relics of ancient London now in existence. It was carefully described in 1828, by Mr. George Gwilt, F.S.A., in a memoir presented to the Society of Antiquaries, and published, with seven plates, in the fifth volume of the *Vetusta Monumenta*. Great credit is due to Mr. Gwilt for his restoration of this crypt.

The present church, by Sir Christopher Wren, was begun in 1673, and

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cost 8,071*l.* 18*s.* 1*d.*; the steeple, begun in 1671, and finished in 1680, at the expense of 7,388*l.* 8*s.* 7¾*d.* It has been stated that the first design for this steeple was less ornamental than the present, and was, on its rejection, adopted for St. Magnus Church. St. Leonard's Shoreditch is a meagre imitation of Bow.

Sir Christopher Wren proposed to erect a piazza on the north side of the church, as may be seen by a model and plan in the vestry. The excellent engraving of Mr. Christopher, the architect, is the best illustration of the steeple extant. A medal was offered by the Royal Academy for the best drawing of this steeple, and that gentleman gained the prize.

A beautiful model of the steeple, in the vestry-room, was bequeathed to the parish by William Lyford, of Arundel-street. It forms an escritoire, and contains several books—also some coins, presented by Mr. Lott.

A whimsical prophecy was extant, that when the dragon of Bow and the grasshopper of the Royal Exchange met together some great calamity would ensue; and it was stated they did so at the repairs of 1818, the Royal Exchange being at the same time under repair. But they never met together: the Bow dragon reposed in the vestry during the repair of the steeple, was there regilt, and never quitted it until, with a man on its back, it soared up into its aerial position. It measures 8ft. 8in. from the mouth to the tail.

Bow bells have always been celebrated, even to a proverb, though, I fear, they never charmed Dick Whittington. They are mentioned as early as 1469, in which year an order of Common Council directed them to be rung at 9 P.M. nightly. The present belfry was originally prepared for twelve bells, but only eight were at first placed in it. The tenor bell, being cracked, was recast in 1738; and in 1758 the seven other bells were recast, and two trebles added by subscription. They were first rung on June 4, 1762, the anniversary of the King's birthday. Mr. Tyssen has kindly presented me with the inscription on the tenor bell, which is as follows:

"Bow Bell 1669. Samuel Lisle D.D. Rector. Robt. Green, Wm. ———, Tho: Paris: Jno. Waldron—Jno: Rainford: Church Wardens: Recast 1738, Richard Phelps: Thos. Lester Londini Fecit."

This bell is of 65 inches diameter, 49 inches high, 115 inches circumference of crown, 124 inches circumference of waist, 4¾ inches thickness of sound bow. The weight cut on the bell, 53cwt. and 24lb.

The bells, for melodious tones, exceed any in the kingdom. The tenor bell is peculiarly beautiful, producing a grand, solemn, swelling, mellow, note, and comes out in striking contrast with the harsh notes of the great bell of St. Paul's. The tenor of York Minster is the only tenor of a peal of equal weight in the kingdom. The tenor first cast for the Royal Exchange was of the same note and weight, but has been removed, and a bell of lesser weight substituted.

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Several additional members were then elected; among whom were the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, and Mr. Frederick Woodthorpe the Town Clerk; and votes of thanks were unanimously passed to the gentlemen who had contributed papers.

After visiting the various portions of Guildhall, and inspecting the records laid out in the muniment room, the company proceeded to the church of St. Mary-le-Bow, where they availed themselves of the opportunity of examining the Norman crypt, which is threatened to be in part concealed from future view by the sanitary measures now in progress. From thence they proceeded to the church of St. Mary Aldermary, where the parish registers and other documents were placed on the table of the vestry-room. The peculiar features of the edifice were pointed out by Mr. Whichcord.

The proceedings of the day terminated with a dinner at the Anchor, Cheapside, at which about sixty of the members and their friends sat down (including several ladies), the chair being taken by J. R. D. Tyssen, Esq. F.S.A.

EIGHTEENTH GENERAL MEETING,

Held in the Speech Room of the School, at Harrow-on-the-Hill, on Thursday, October 6th, 1859.

The Rev. J. W. CUNNINGHAM, Vicar of Harrow, in the Chair.

The Chairman, in his opening address, highly extolled the objects of the Society, and said that he prided himself on at once responding to the call of the Society in its earlier stages, and enrolling himself among its first Members and Founders.

The Rev. Thomas Hugo, F.S.A., read a paper on the history of Harrow, of which the following is a sketch:—

"From very early times the manor was the property of the church of Canterbury. When it first became so is unknown, but Kenulf king of Mercia took it from that church some time previous to the year 822, when, at the famous Council of Clovesho, Wilfred the archbishop recovered it with several others which had been similarly alienated. Wherhard, presbyter, who is described as "prepotens in Anglia," completed, according to the account in the "Decem Scriptores," the archbishop's good work, and in the year 830 entirely reinstated the monks in the domain of which they had been long and unjustly deprived. The Domesday record gives us the extent of the manor, asserting that it was taxed at 100 hides, and the whole, which was valued in the time of the Confessor at £60, was then estimated at £56. Its name is there given as "Herges."

"We know little or nothing of the subsequent history of the place until

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the year 1324, when William de Bosco, at that time rector, founded a chantry in the church. The name of Edward de Derham occurs previously, being appointed rector by S. Edmund the archbishop, who died in Dec. 1242. William de Bosco, however, is more conspicuously worthy of mention, on account of his munificent foundation just alluded to. The particulars of it are to be seen among the "Inquisitiones ad Quod Damnum," of the 17th of Edward II., and in the Patent Roll of the same year. The chantry, it thus appears, was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and was endowed with 101 acres of arable, and five-and-a-half of meadow land, besides rents to the value of 4s. 4½d. The duties of the chantry priest or chaplain were to say mass daily for the archbishop of Canterbury, the rector, and all other priests at Harrow, and all the parishioners, whether living or dead.

"In the year 1398, we have an incidental account of the place in an inquisition of the estates of archbishop Arundel, condemned for high treason, and banished from the realm. Three manors are enumerated among his possessions—Southbury, in Harrow, with the advowson of the church, Woodhall, and Heggeton. All these manors were exchanged in 1543 by Archbishop Cranmer with Henry VIII. for other lands, and were given by Henry, in 1546, to Sir Edward subsequently Lord North, and continued in his family until 1630.

"One of the most interesting episodes in the history of Harrow is that connected with its manor-house. It was in the year 1170 that Becket, willing perhaps to avert the impending storm, made a journey towards Woodstock, where the young King Henry II. then held his court. On his way he was met by the royal messengers, peremptorily forbidding his visit, and commanding him to return to his church. This ungracious mandate he thought proper to obey; for, says the chronicler, his 'hour was not yet come.' He, therefore, spent some days at his manor of Harwes, and was there on the festival of *O Sapientia*, the 16th of December, spending his brief season of repose as if no care or anxiety had ever molested him. The abbot of St. Alban's supplied him with the best that his House afforded; and the Archbishop returned his thanks in right courtly style,—'Accipio ejus præsentias; mallem tamen præsentiam.' The abbot himself was not far off, and the archbishop went to his gate to receive and welcome his guest. After some hours of pleasant intercourse he prevailed upon the abbot to go to Woodstock and endeavour by his pathetic eloquence, of which, as it appears, he was an acknowledged master, to effect a reconciliation. This overture was met on the King's part with haughtiness and anger, and the abbot returned to the Archbishop with the mortifying tidings that all hope of the adjustment of their differences was futile and vain. The Archbishop replied in words not understood at the moment of their utterance, but shortly afterwards imagined to possess a prophetic character, and warmly thanked his defender for the trouble expended in his behalf, though it had resulted in no practical advantage. With a bitterness of heart, and

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sense of extreme desolation, he called the clergy who attended him to remark that he had received from the abbot, who was in no way bound to him, more honour and observance than had been shown to him by all his colleagues and suffragans united. The last civility of the abbot was to entreat him to honour the house of St. Alban with his presence at the approaching festival of the Nativity. With tears in his eyes the Archbishop declined to accept the proposed kindness, saying that he should have been overjoyed to do so, but that a sufficient excuse for his refusal would soon be apparent. This, of course, was another ambiguous hint at the approaching catastrophe. In his turn, he requested the abbot to accompany him to Canterbury, and to share his tribulations and dangers. The importance of the approaching solemnity hindered the abbot from complying with this request, an omission which he soon lamented the more, as he was thus prevented from defending him in his danger or participating in the glory of his martyr's crown. It was but eight days after this occasion that the deed was perpetrated before the altar of St. Benedict, which brought so much disgrace and misery in its train, and excited so intense a hatred of the King and his party through every part of the European world. The clergy of Harwes itself, I am constrained to say, were evilly conspicuous during the Archbishop's sojourn in the neighbourhood. Nigel de Sackville, the vicar, was loud in his condemnation; and Robert de Broc showed his unworthy spite by maiming a horse of the Archbishop's while carrying provisions for his table. Both of them were excommunicated for these offences after sermon on Christmas Day. Five days subsequently all was over. (Matt. Paris, Hist. Maj. Par. 1644, p. 86.)

"A religious house formerly existed within the parochial limits. This was the Priory of Bentley. It is one of those establishments of which very little is known, nor probably should we know of its existence were it not for a solitary passage in Matthew Paris's history, and for two grants in the Patent Roll of the 38th of King Henry VIII. The latter relate to the grant of the Priory to Henry Needham, William Sacheverell, and Elizabeth Colte; and the former acquaints us with the unfortunate end of one of its priors. This happened in the year 1248, and the facts were simply these:—The prior of the house (called by the historian "quædam ecclesiola," and evidently, therefore, a place of little fame and importance,) with several of his brethren, were reckoning the value of a wheatmow, when their calculations were suddenly brought to a conclusion by the precipitate fall of the object itself. The rest escaped, but the prior was suffocated amongst the sheaves. Nothing, I believe, now remains to mark the site of the house.

"The rate-books commence with an entry dated July 19, 1684. The sum of £100 was ordered to be levied and assessed upon the parish towards the relief of the poor for six months. It is interesting to compare this with the present poor rates for the same period, which amount to upwards of £2,000. The last assessment in the volume bears date April 15, 1709.

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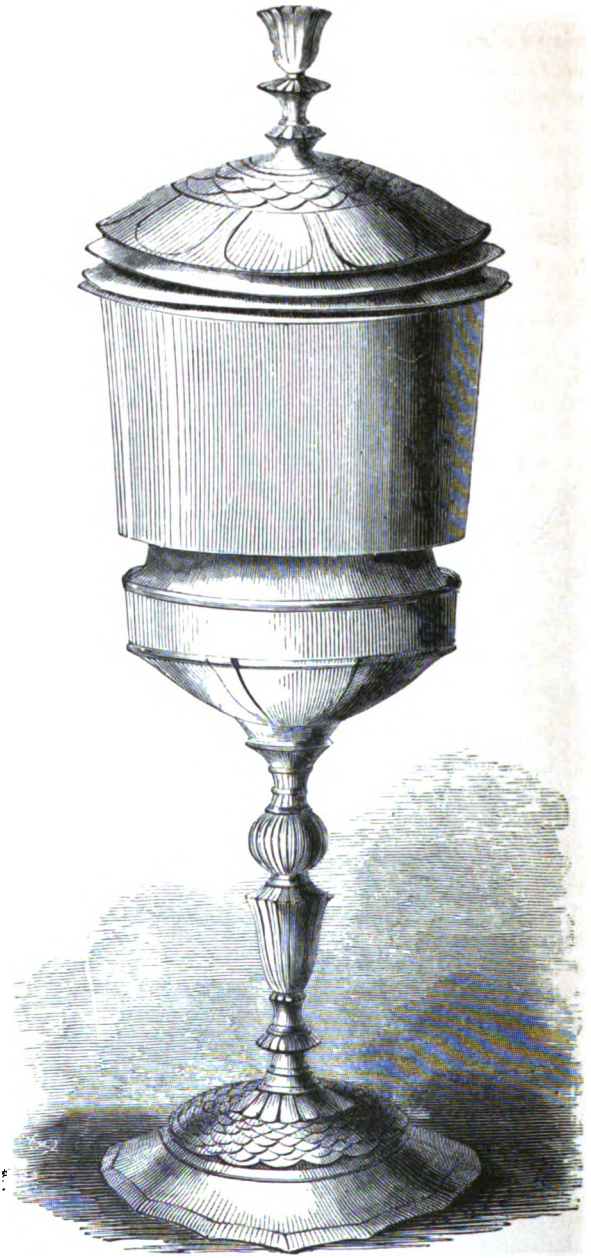

ARCHBISHOP LAUD'S IVORY CHALICE.

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The earliest volume of churchwardens' accounts commences with May 10, 1704. At page 18 of this volume occur the following notices:—'At a meeting of the parishioners on the 19th of May, 1702, it was ordered and agreed upon as follows:—Whereas Tanner Arnold, Esq., has at his own charge set up a Pulpit, and in his own Pew, in our parish Church: We, the Vicar, officers, and parishioners have in return built a Pew where the old Pulpit stood, and do hereby appoint it solely for his use.' 'Whereas, at the meeting of the parish on the 12th of March, 1706, Mr. Brian had liberty to build a Pew for himself and family in the corner in the south isle, upon condition he puts out a poor parish boy to prentice, we are satisfied that he has bound out John the son of John Wilde, and expended as much as he was obliged, and do now grant him the full use of that Pew.' This is signed by the Vicar, churchwardens, and overseers of the poor. At page 22 occurs: 'At a meeting at the Anchor, June 22d, 1709, it is this day ordered that the overseers of the poor do repair the Cage-house, so that it be useful to the ends for which it was at first erected. It is likewise ordered that the Ale-conners do exchange the old Scales, and get good large ones fit for the uses for which they were designed, and that the overseers pay the expenses of both.' Under the date of August 20, 1740, there is a sentence under seal, pronounced by Dr. Bettesworth, Dean of the Arches, against Dr. Saunders, the vicar, for burying strangers, and making vaults, and erecting monuments, without the consent of the parishioners. The reverend defendant was admonished not to offend in like manner again; and the sentence ordered to be entered on the register of burials. The last entry bears date June 7, 1777."

The Rev. William Oxenham gave an account of a beautiful Ivory Chalice, which was exhibited to the meeting. It is of a slightly oval shape upon a round pedestal. From the cover springs a lofty spiral ornament, surmounted by a small cross, which, however, is modern, and is therefore omitted in the annexed Engraving.

Mr. Oxenham said:—"By the kindness of our neighbour Mr. Young, of Sudbury Grove, I am permitted to bring hither for your inspection this very elegant cup, to which an interest attaches far beyond that which would else belong to its graceful symmetry, and elaborate workmanship; for there is the strongest evidence that from this same cup Archbishop Laud received the sacred element of Communion on the morning of his execution. The holy rite was administered to him by his chaplain, Sterne, and the cup, of which he had kept possession in his imprisonment, was then presented by him to the advocate, Hearne, who had zealously defended him on his trial, and who remained with him till he was led forth to die. This took place on Jan. 10, 1664-5, at 12 noon, when his body was buried at All Hallows Barking, but removed to St. John's College, Oxford, in 1663. By the marriage of a female descendant and representative of Hearne into the Page family, formerly so well known in this parish, the chalice became an heir-loom of the Pages, and from them has come by marriage into the pos-

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session of Mr. Young. This is no time for discussing the character of Archbishop Laud. Few will be bold enough to assert that, whatever were his failings, he had incurred the doom of blood-guiltiness. Few will deny him the praise of learning, piety, and sincerity, as an able, unflinching supporter of our Church and Monarchy.

"Another memorial of the event *did*, but unfortunately *does not*, accompany this hallowed relic. Hearne shrunk from following the Archbishop, as he had requested, to the scaffold; but sent his son. Laud, there addressing young Hearne with much affection, gave him some pieces of gold, which, being also reserved and handed down, were by another generation converted into a medal commemorative of Laud's fate. Until a very late period, it was scrupulously preserved by the Page family; but alas! an inheritor of that name was at length found who betrayed the trust, and this interesting memorial, reconverted, I fear, into forms of monetary value, has ceased to exist."

Mr. William Tayler then made some remarks on the value of Sepulchral Brasses, both as historical records and as relics of ancient art; and drew the attention of the company to the rubbings from those in Harrow Church, which were suspended round the room: particularly that of John Byrkhede, Rector of Harrow, of which he read a description by Mr. Niblett. (On this subject, a paper subsequently written by Mr. John Gough Nichols is printed at page 276.)

Mr. Charles Baily announced the recent discovery in the church of two fragments of Flemish brasses (also more fully described by Mr. Alfred Heales at page 270).

Mr. Charles Baily also drew attention to a portion of a very early incised monumental stone of the time of Edward III., showing the face of the deceased and some of the letters of the inscription, which now forms the sill of the doorway to the small room over the south porch of the church.

A complete set of rubbings from the Brasses in Harrow Church was exhibited by Mr. William Winkley, the Vestry Clerk.

On reference to the marks of the Goldsmiths' Hall, the Chalice and Paten belonging to Harrow Church were found to have been made A.D. 1568.

A paper by Mr. W. Durrant Cooper, F.S.A., on the Parish Registers of Harrow on the Hill, was read by the Honorary Secretary, which will be found at page 285.

The Chairman, in a few concluding words, proposed the thanks of the meeting to the gentlemen who had read papers; and, a vote of thanks having been proposed to him, by Mr. Edmund Woodthorpe, and unanimously carried, the company proceeded to visit—

1st. The Temporary Museum in the Statute Room.

Amongst the objects of antiquity which excited the most attention were some Saxon ornaments and crosses found among recent excavations in

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London; some ancient Roman fibulæ and hair-pins, tiles from the Old Temple Church, coins in gold, silver, and copper, specimens of Samian ware, molten nails from the *débris* of the Great Fire of London, Captain Cook's "tea kettle," some ancient deeds and other documents. There was also exhibited a pocket manual, bearing on the outside the cypher "C. R.," surmounted with a crown and beneath a death's head, being a copy of "Eikon Basilike; the Portraiture of his Sacred Majesty in his solitudes and sufferings; with the Papers which passed at Newcastle betwixt his Majesty and Mr. Alexander Henderson concerning Church Government, A.D. 1645; also Prayers used in the time of his restraint." This volume was printed by R. Royston, of Ivy Lane, in 1649, and it contains an emblematical portrait of Charles I., and a portrait of the Prince of Wales.

2ndly. The Fourth Form Room, where Sheridan, Byron, Peel, Palmerston, and a host of the past *alumni* of whom Harrow is proud, have left their names carved on the panels.

3rdly. The Monitors' Library, where, among other objects of interest, Byron's school books, the dress formerly worn at the School archery meetings, the last Prize Arrow (exhibited by the Rev. B. H. Drury), &c. were viewed.

4thly. The Church, which was explained by Mr. Burlison, in the absence of Mr. George Gilbert Scott, under whose care it was restored.

5thly. The School Chapel, and its magnificent windows of modern stained glass.

Among the Exhibitors who assisted in forming the Temporary Museum, Mr. Peak, Mr. J. H. Le Roux, the Rev. B. H. Drury, Rev. R. J. Knight, Mr. Wm. Winkley, Mr. J. Lacks, Mr. R. H. Clutterbuck, Rev. C. T. Weatherley, and Mr. A. White, were actively engaged in aid of the Hon. Secretary. The arrangements were carried out by a Local Committee, consisting of

G. F. Harris, Esq.	Rev. B. H. Drury.
Rev. R. Middlemist.	Mons. Masson.
Rev. R. J. Knight.	C. F. Elliott, Esq.

the latter gentleman acting as Secretary, and the Committee being allowed by the kindness of Rev. R. Middlemist to meet at his house.

After visiting the various places mentioned above, a large number of ladies and gentlemen assembled to dinner at the King's Head, when the Rev. Thomas Hugo, F.S.A., was called to the chair, and Mr. Wm. Tayler, F.S.S., occupied the vice-chair.

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Additional Contributions to the Library and Museum :—

From T. L. Peak, Esq. Member :
Rubbing of a brass in Kingsbury Church.

From the Surrey Archæological Society :
Transactions of the Society, Vol. I. Part II. 8vo. 1858.

From Robert Hesketh, Esq. Member :
Engraved views of National Gallery and Westminster Hall.

From Francis Hugh Webb, Esq. Member :
Panoramic View of London, Westminster, and Southwark in 1543.

From J. H. Pattison, Esq. :
A Fragment of a Carved Stone Cross.

From the Rev. T. B. Murray :
Two pamphlets—"History of Ely Chapel," and "Some account of the Church of St. Dunstan-in-the-East."

From E. Richardson, Esq. :
The Effigies and Coffins in the Temple. By the Donor.

From the Library Committee of the Corporation of London :
Catalogue of Guildhall Library, 1859.

From Mrs. White :
The Lady's Companion; monthly.

From Executors of the late Mr. Henry George Davis :
Some interesting rubbings, papers, and collections of scraps relating to London.

From John Tuff, Esq. M.P.S. :
Historical, Topographical, and Statistical Notices of Enfield. By the Donor. 1858.

From William Atkinson, Esq. F.L.S. :
All the published parts of Reliquiæ Antiquæ Eboracenses.

From the Rev. Thomas Hugo, F.S.A. :
The printed Catalogue of the Library of the Society of Antiquaries.

From M. H. Bloxam, Esq. Hon. Member :
Two pamphlets by the Donor, one being on the "Domus Includi," and the other upon Charnel Vaults.

From E. G. Ballard, Esq. Member :
MS. Notes and newspaper cuttings relating to the Antiquities of London and Middlesex.

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From the Right Hon. Sir Benjamin Hall, Bart., First Commissioner of Her Majesty's Works, &c.:
The Architectural Antiquities of the Collegiate Chapel of St. Stephen's, Westminster, late the House of Commons, published by Government.

From the Author:
The Worthies of St. Dunstan's: a Lecture, by the Rev. Andrew Burn Suter, B.A. Curate of St. Dunstan's-in-the-West. 8vo. 1856.

From J. R. Daniel-Tyssen, Esq.:
Collections of Casts and Rubbings from the Bells of St. Bartholomew the Great.

From J. G. Nichols, Esq.:
"The Coat Armour of the Fishmongers and Goldsmiths." By the Donor.

From J. G. Smither, Esq.:
Panels from a House in Aldgate.

From Mr. B. H. Cowper:
The Ambulator. 8vo. 1774.

From Mr. W. P. Ivatts:
A Lottery Ticket, dated 1760.

From the Buckinghamshire Archæological Society:
Records of the Society, Vol. II. Parts I. II. III. 1859.

From the Chronological Institute of London:
Transactions of the Institute, Vol. I. Part I. 1852.

From the Ecclesiological Society:
Reports of the Ecclesiological Society for 1854-5-6.

From the Essex Archæological Society:
Their Transactions, Vol. II. Part. I. 1859.

From the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire:
Their Transactions, Vol. VII. 1855.
„ Vol. IX. 1856-7.
„ Vol. X. 1857-8.

From the Royal Institute of British Architects:
Papers read at the Institute Session 1853-54, Session 1854-55, and Session 1855-56. History of Alnwick Castle. Pamphlet, 1856.

From the Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society:
Their Proceedings, Vol. VI. 1855.

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From the Suffolk Institute of Archæology and Natural History:

Their Transactions, Vol. II. Part 1. 1854.
" " " 2. 1855.
" " " 3. 1855.
" " " 4. 1855.
" " " 5. 1856.
" " " 6. 1857.
" " " 7. 1858.
" Vol. III. Part 1. 1860.

The East Anglian.
No. I. 1858.
No. II. 1859.
No. V. 1860.

From the United Societies of York, Lincoln, Northampton, Bedford, Worcester, and Leicester:

Their Reports and papers, Vol. IV. Part II. 1858.
" Vol. V. Part I. 1859.

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NOTES AND QUERIES.

I.—*Carved Panels from an ancient House in Aldgate.*

These panels, which were exhibited by Mr. J. Young, junior, at the meeting of the Society held at Guildhall, and are engraved from the drawings of Mr. J. G. Smither, Hon. Local Secretary, were removed from the house, No. 76, in High Street, Aldgate.

The arms are those of the citizen family of Saltonstall, although they have the appearance of a foreign coat, probably from having been carved by a German workman. The initials "H. S." confirm this appropriation. The Saltonstall arms were thus blazoned: Or, a bend between two eagles displayed sable. Crest, an eagle azure issuing out of a coronet or. (In the present carving the coronet is omitted).

Sir Richard Saltonstall, Skinner, was an Alderman of London, Sheriff in 1588, and Lord Mayor in 1597. He was the son of Gilbert Saltonstall, of Halifax, in Yorkshire, and married Susan, daughter of Thomas Pointz, esq., of North Okendon, in Essex, and sister to Sir Gabriel Pointz, knt. He died March 17, 1601, aged 80, and was

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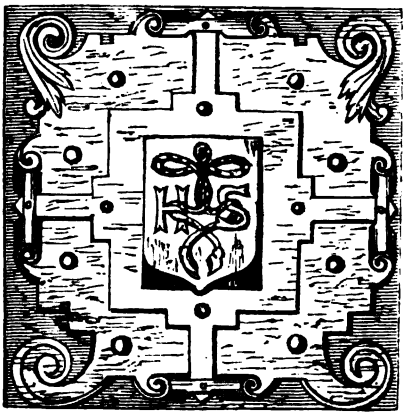

buried at South Okendon, in the same county. A pedigree of his descendants will be found in Clutterbuck's History of Hertfordshire, vol. iii. p. 862.

It would therefore appear that the house in Aldgate was the town mansion of the family of Saltonstall.

H. W. Sass.

II.—*Pontefract in Middlesex.*

In a recent number of "Notes and Queries" (May 5, 1860), a correspondent pointed out five documents of the year 1321, which are printed in Rymer's Fœdera, and that bear date, "Teste Rege, apud Pountefreit super Thamis'" or "apud Pontem Fractum super Thamis'." In the First Series of that miscellany (ii. 205), a correspondent had expressed his opinion that Kingston Bridge was the "Pomfret on the Thames;" but it is now stated (2nd series, ix. 395), that at the village of Shepperton Ashford, about three miles from Sunbury and seven from Kingston, there is a place still known by the name of Broken Bridge, or Broken Splash, and it is also stated that, about twenty years back, traces of a road laid on piles, running directly towards the Thames, and crossing several small pieces of water on its way, but stopping at the brink of the river, could still be traced. Was there any manor-house near that spot which could have received King Edward the Second?

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III.—*The Manor of Sudbury, in Harrow.*

The manor of Southbury, or Sudbury, in Harrow, has been mentioned in page 367 as having been granted by Henry VIII. to Edward Lord North. The following particulars are copied from a paper in the possession of William Perry Herrick, Esq., of Beaumanor Park, Leicestershire; to whose ancestor, Sir William Heyrick, the lease of this manor, which had been granted by Archbishop Cranmer, appears to have been offered for sale in the reign of James the First:—

Sudbury Court in the parishe of Harow on the Hill.

Yt conteyneth .7^{c}. acres pasture meadow and errable, being all very good soyle.

There is .30. yeares and better to come of a Lease graunted by bysshop Cranmere, who was heretofore owner thereof.

The reversion in ffee belongeth to the Lord Northe, who hathe about 24^{li}. Rent yearly payd unto him.

Mr. Townley is possessed of the house and dyvers groundes, and hathe all the deedes delivered unto him, which he will keepe duringe his tearme. He expecteth .50^{li}. more than he dysbursed.

One Mr Harmon a marchaund offers .3$^{M li}$. (£3,000) for the Lease, and one Wolvaston is the agend.

Mr. Townley will goe throwe with all parties yf you and he accorde.

John Gough Nichols.

IV.—*Names of the Parish Churches of London.*

The parish churches of London have been distinguished from very early times by various distinctive appellatives, or surnames (as they might be called), some of which are exceedingly strange in appearance, and are probably considerably corrupted by popular usage. Nor are the explanations given of them by Stowe or Newcourt always satisfactory; though many are clearly traced to the personal names of their founders or early patrons, as St. Martin Orgar, St. Martin Outwich, St. Laurence Poultney, &c. &c.

But, with regard to Saint Mary Aldermary, Stowe's idea that it was the oldest church in London dedicated to the Virgin, is inconsistent with the undoubtedly pristine antiquity of Saint Mary-le-Bow, a church

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situated in the central market-place. Of the other St. Mary's, is it certain that St. Mary-at-Axe was so called "of the sign of the Axe over against the end thereof"? St. Mary Mounthaw took its name from the family of Mounthault, or de Montealto; but whence came St. Mary Bothaw, or St. Mary Abchurch? and St. Mary Colechurch, St. Mary Somerset, and St. Mary Woolnoth? St. Andrew Undershaft, in Aldgate ward, was named after a famous May-pole; but why was another church called St. Andrew Hubbard? What was "the fraternity of the Papey," which gave its name to the destroyed church of St. Augustine Papey, a parish united to Allhallows-on-the-Wall? If St. Benet Finck was named after a family, whence came the name of St. Benet Sherehog? And why was a church dedicated to Dionysius, called St. Denis Backchurch? There were St. Benet Gracechurch and St. Gabriel Fanchurch; the former is said to have been in the *grass*-market, but had the latter (as Stowe suggests) anything to do with *fenum*, hay? Three churches, dedicated to St. Nicholas, were distinguished respectively by the additions of Acon, Cole Abbey, and Olave, all of which require elucidation. Then there are St. Margaret Pattens and St. Margaret Moses. Nor are these all that invite the attention and investigation of the London antiquary.

JOHN WHICHCORD.

V.—*Church Bells.*

Any information or extracts from churchwardens or parish accounts relating to the inscriptions, arms, medallions, stops, weight, dimensions, casting, frames, hanging, wheels, rules for ringing, payments to ringers, or the costs or expenses in any way relating to bells of the City of London or County of Middlesex, will be most thankfully received as materials for a paper which I propose to contribute to the Society. Communications may be addressed to the Hon. Secretary.

J. R. DANIEL-TYSSEN.

VI.—*The Arms of John Wilkes, Alderman and Chamberlain of London.*

The arms of John Wilkes, as appears from one of his book-plates, were, Or, a chevron between three raven's heads erased sable. Crest,

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On a mount vert a crossbow erect or. Motto, ARCUI MEO NON CONFIDO. To the document signed by Wilkes as Chamberlain, which is printed in the present volume, he attached a totally different seal of arms, as described in p. 363. That coat, Vert, a chevron between three rams (or wethers) or, belongs to Wetherby of Norfolk. How it came to be used by Wilkes requires explanation.

J. G. N.

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